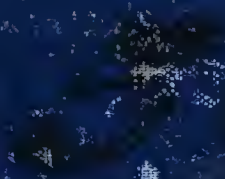


The Imperial Parliament

Edited by

Henry Buckton M.P.



IMPERIAL FEDERATION

MARQUIS OF LORDE

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# The Imperial Parliament

EDITED BY

SYDNEY BUXTON, M.P.

"In every free country it is of the utmost importance that all opinions extensively entertained, all sentiments widely diffused, should be *stated* publicly before the nation."—BAGEHOT.

## IMPERIAL FEDERATION.



# IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

BY THE RT. HON.

THE MARQUIS OF LORNE,

P.C., K.T., G.C.M.G., LATE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA.



London :

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## PREFACE.

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THE Colonies are not at present possessed of the share they must ultimately have in determining the policy of the Empire. How they may gradually become possessed of equal rights of citizenship, and how the burdens connected with such equality and responsibility may best be borne by them, is the question involved in the phrase "Imperial Federation." What may be done now towards the solution of the question cannot be final. We must proceed slowly, and step by step, and it is best that the impulse towards advance should come primarily from the great Colonies themselves.

LORNE.

*Kensington Palace.*



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# 75 IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

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## CHAPTER I.

### ORIGIN OF PROPOSAL.

“IMPERIAL FEDERATION” is a phrase representing an altogether new idea in the history of nations. Our Colonies, once strictly dependencies of Great Britain, have grown into States already possessing political importance in those parts of the world where they have developed under free institutions. They have become the owners of vast regions connected by steam communication. Their relations towards the mother country and towards each other raise questions which are exciting attention. Will they still follow our lead in foreign policy, risking that they themselves be attacked if a war be provoked by England? Will Great Britain, on her part, contentedly continue to furnish them with naval and military protection if they find themselves in difficulties? Will the power they possess to frame their own commercial policy not lead them and us into divergent lines of action which may be mutually repudiated? Does not disintegration loom in the future,

and is not the independence of Australia, and the annexation of Canada to the United States, a result sure to follow the local freedom practised throughout the Anglo-Saxon Empire?

These are questions asked by many, for Australia alone has now three million people—as large a population as had the United States at the time of the War of Independence. Canada has about five millions if we include the Island of Newfoundland, which, although a separate colony at present, will probably soon take part and lot in the fortunes of the rest of British North America.

There is no analogy in the condition of any nation in the past which can guide us in estimating the forces at work within our Empire. No State has ever found itself encouraging its population not only to colonise distant regions, but to provide the colonies so created with a government separate in all but in name.

The Spaniards conquered South America, and dreamed that it might for ever remain under the dominion of their “standard of blood and gold,” but they lost their empire by a refusal to encourage autonomy, and the military conquest at first effected did not succeed in attracting to America that steady flow of emigration which could alone keep a living connection between the old and the new country. Their colonists became altered in blood as well as in spirit, and little but the language and the architecture of the houses reminds the traveller among the Southern Republics of Spanish valour, Spanish beauty, or of Spanish customs.

The Dutch, also, have made many conquests, and have been successful in retaining much of what they won. But with them success has brought only the permanent acquisition of Java, a country too hot for white races to settle and thrive upon its land, and therefore a national property which can be used more for money profit than as a second home.

With the French the fault of failure lay not with the colonists, but with the mother land. There is no more prosperous colonisation to be seen anywhere than in those parts of Canada and of the United States which are now garrisoned by the descendants of the soldiers, who, leaving Brittany and Normandy in the days of Louis XIII., and before his reign, founded "La nouvelle France." But these brave men were neglected by a monarchy which had many ambitions to follow on theatres of action nearer home. Then came conquest by the English of most of the French possessions, and the incorporation into a free Anglo-French province of the old military settlements whose value becomes more and more manifest as the story of their country develops itself.

Again, if we look back into older history we find nothing like that galaxy of States which we call the British Empire. Never has such gigantic progress in wealth, resources, and population attended any human progeny. As Mr. Forster has well pointed out, of the corn-growing country in the temperate regions of America, Australia, and South Africa, no less than forty-four per cent. are in lands under the Union Jack. The

very size, the very immensity of the regions acknowledging the Queen as sovereign, and looking to these little islands for present help while they promise us their future strong support, is enough to make men wonder and ask to what result such a portent as this great sowing of world-absorbing colonies will lead.

And other nations, as they have been enabled, through the gravitating force of race affinities, to become powerful through union and the abolition of their distracting and destructive minor dynasties, have looked on our Empire and have envied it. They have seen it stretching everywhere, and have found that their own emigrants disappeared as Frenchmen, as Germans, or Dutch, or Norsemen, only to reappear in their own persons, or in those of their sons, as "Britishers"—a result truly distressing to the patriotic foreign mind.

And so they too have cast about to found colonies, and have plunged into all sorts of hot places, in torrid climes, where we may leave them, for our survey includes only those who have followed our flag, and that leads us far enough.

And while the growth of our old "Dependencies" has been sufficient to startle the foreigner and excite our own surprise, attention among ourselves has naturally been directed to the colonies in an ever greater degree by the increased facilities for travel.

Attracted by the chance of good profit, our merchants have established lines of steam vessels which now ensure that a voyage to Canada shall not endure longer than eight days, and to Australia not longer than thirty days.

Thousands, who a quarter of a century ago would not have travelled to form a judgment from personal observation of the resources of "Greater Britain," are now almost as familiar with Sydney and Melbourne as with London. Soldiers who knew Canada only from their experience of Montreal and Quebec, when they were quartered in "the Old Jesuits Barracks" in the Cathedral Square, or on "St. Helen's Island," now visit by rail the great central prairies, of which they had only heard in the old days from the servants of the Hudson Bay Company. It has become a common summer or autumn trip for those who can have only a short holiday, to cross the Atlantic and enjoy the sensation of landing in a world where, although all nature is new and shows a change of form in almost every plant, bird, beast, and tree, the minds and accents and greetings of men are still English.

Thus it is that many travellers now visit the vast river named after St. Lawrence, and see the fair cities on its bank and those which are reflected in the waters of the Canadian lakes, and pass on across the forests to the newest of the towns which have arisen upon the grassy plains of Manitoba, and are not content until they have traversed the long mountain barrier of British Columbia, and have, like stout Cortez, "stared at the Pacific."

Almost equally familiar has become the description of the Cape of Good Hope and of its famous bay, and of the many wonders of the rich Australian communities. Among these countries there is indeed nothing that man may desire which he may not have in abundance. What

woods, except those of Oregon, may compare with the eucalyptus forests of Western Australia? What pearls are finer than those brought from the shining sands of her shallow seas? Where may more vigorous and more splendid centres of industrial and commercial activity be found than in the capitals of Victoria and New South Wales? Who that has been to Tasmania has not been charmed with a climate like an eternal day of English June? or has not, in New Zealand, found sun, scenery, and soil to be all—what shall we say?—too good for the natives!

There are few indeed who have heard the colonists in their own homes speak of their future, and have seen and appreciated the grounds on which their expectations of future greatness are based, who have not returned enthusiastic in the belief that Britons should stand shoulder to shoulder wherever they are, and whether they be called Canadians or Australians.

An education was not considered perfect in past times if a man had not made the round of the capitals of Europe. A knowledge of the Colonies and India is a far more indispensable education now-a-days for an English public man. Bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, as their people often are, and great as is the number of emigrants from England continually joining them, the term "colony" is becoming a misnomer when applied to our kindred beyond the sea, for the number of old countrymen among them is in many cases comparatively small.

As a rule the natural increase of population in these countries is immense. The French Canadians were only 60,000 in number when Wolfe fell victorious in the battle on the heights of Abraham. The descendants of those who fought against him are now fully a million and a quarter strong, and this increase has been unaided by any fresh importation from France.

The Irish keep up their home reputation in this matter of replenishment of the earth, and the other northern races inhabiting the country show none of that attenuation of families visible in New England. The 5,000,000 now resident in Canada have reached that number so rapidly, in spite of large contributions given off in other days to the United States, that men now living can remember the first wheeled vehicle made in a village called "muddy little York," which is now Toronto, with 110,000 people.

The results achieved in Australia are even more wonderful; for, with a smaller general population, they have cities containing 200,000 and 300,000, whose first beginnings are well within man's memory.

Nothing can better illustrate the effect produced on the minds of English Statesmen by such facts, than the speech in which Mr. Forster recently exclaimed :

"May the Colonies long be prosperous ; may their inhabitants remain our fellow countrymen ; and may no spirit of strife spring up between us. I remember when it used to be a very usual statement to make that there would be no difference to the trade or commerce of this country if the Colonies were not connected with the mother country, whether they started independently themselves, or were

annexed by another country. Many reasons are given for this supposition, but I think the supposition has disappeared with many other exploded fallacies, and that nothing can be more brought home as a fact to the commercial community and to the public generally than this fact, that the trade of the country very much depends upon keeping up our connection with the Colonies, and the statement that trade follows the flag is abundantly proved. If there were no longer a flag to follow, trade would cease to exist in this country itself. I will take the opportunity of giving some figures which have been prepared by a friend upon whom I can rely. The trade which the inhabitants of Great Britain conducts throughout the world is about one-third of the total trade of the whole world. The annual trade of the British dominions beyond the seas with the United Kingdom is, exports and imports, £190,000,000, and with other countries £170,000,000—a total of £360,000,000, or six times the value of the annual trade of the United Kingdom at the beginning of the century. You have heard a great deal about the depression of trade which has ruled throughout the whole of the United Kingdom, and I ask, if it were not for the Colonies, what would the depression be? The trade of the United Kingdom with foreign countries in 1872 was more than £248,000,000, and in 1882 it was £214,000,000, a decrease in the ten years of £34,000,000. The trade of the United Kingdom with British possessions, which in 1872 was £66,000,000, had increased in 1882 to £92,000,000.

“We should not have had these figures if the Colonies had been separated from the mother country. We are also largely dependent for the food of the country upon our Colonies, and we cannot help the fact. If we attempt to prevent it, it can only be by legislation, and we could only have prevented it by limiting the number of our population, and by starving them down. The increase in the amount of wheat imported into the country in 1882 from India, North America, and from Australasia against that in 1872, was 8,000,000 ewt. from India, 1,000,000 cwt. from North America, and 2,000,000 cwt. from Australasia. The total trade of imports and exports of the United Kingdom with the world outside British possessions had increased from 1854 to 1882 more than 77 per cent., but the total trade, import and export, of the United Kingdom with British possessions had increased more than 170 per cent. This is sound



evidence of the importance of the Colonies, and, looking at it simply in a commercial light, it is of the utmost importance to Great Britain as an empire that she should retain possession of and maintain the connection with her Colonies. It is sometimes said that notwithstanding our connection with the Colonies, they levy duties upon our goods. That is true, but I cannot see the hardship of it. If they were not our Colonies, judging from what has happened elsewhere, they would levy far larger duties. There is a vast difference between the duties levied by the United States and those levied by Canada; and I wonder if we should do anything approaching the trade in Canada if they maintained the tariffs of the United States."

The calculation which tells us that we own eight million square miles, or one-eighth of the habitable earth, and that whereas we had on our Colonial soil only three and a half millions in 1851, we have, counting South Africa, now eight and a half millions or nine millions, is enough to make us value the Colonies. They will probably have in another century one hundred millions! They are becoming conscious of their power now, and perhaps that is another reason why we are paying them more attention. In another fifty years how vital will be for us their alliance or their enmity.

"Why not leave well alone?" ask some of those who believe that nothing better than our present relations with our Colonies is likely to come of any attempt at a closer union. We may certainly be glad that so good a feeling exists as that now evident between Britain and her Colonies; but it by no means follows that the institution of an association bound to watch how the "world wags" and how the portions of it under our flag are affected by events, will not prove of service.

A little learning may do harm in any place, and at first there may be crude ideas founded on scanty information and hastily-drawn conclusions which might, when acted on, prove injurious. But it is not probable that the recent formation of the Federation League can lead to the pressing of any scheme which does not command assent here and across the seas, while the discussion of questions affecting the Colonies in their relation to England must tend to a closer knowledge and to the destruction of theories which are based on delusions.

It is right that the primary objects of such a body should be stated vaguely, for it is the intention of the members to invite contributions to their information, and no definite action on any given point has been dogmatically proposed by them. The good-will shown to our kinsfolk in the intention of the new Association is undoubted, and the aim of the League is not to foster England's interests otherwise than in conjunction with those of her friends. It is not to push any scheme of trade, but to see how best the commerce of all may be advanced and protected.

Recent expensive wars at the Cape, annexations of groups of islands in the neighbourhood of Australia, the Fishery and other questions that have arisen, and may arise, on the North American continent, have all compelled us to take a review of our responsibilities in connection with our Colonies, and to consider how far, in the event of trouble, we may rely upon their assistance to adequately support the commercial interests of our scattered

Empire. It is remarkable that, although the matters here indicated are slowly coming to the surface, and have provoked discussion, they have not been forced upon the public attention suddenly, or by any violent injury or catastrophe. The review men are taking of our position, and the debates as to how best we can make our relationships of standing value, have been the natural outcome of slowly developing causes and effects.

Politicians belonging to both of the great parties in the State have joined the Federation League. The leaders have expressly declared that they do not desire at the present moment to propound any definite theories, or to push any premature scheme for closer union of the Empire. The society has been formed for the purpose of discussing any plans proposed for such objects. The suggestions actually made have varied in importance from comprehensive projects of universal commercial union and common contributions for a world-wide military and naval organization, to such a trivial proposal as the personal recognition of distinguished colonists by a nomination to the peerage.

While this League has enlisted the sympathies of men who have served the State as Liberals or Conservatives, it is to be noted that much interest has been shown in its aims by numbers of the hand-workers among the industrial classes. It is too recently formed an organization to have yet elicited opinions which may make it bear its best fruits, for the desires, intentions, or even the fears and misgivings connected with its inception, must take

time to be fully expressed among all those peoples whose future might be affected. Already in Canada a tendency has evinced itself to form analogous associations, and a similar response may be expected from Australia. While, however, the talk in Great Britain in reference to the League has been connected chiefly with the question of common defence, it has elsewhere shown an inclination to dwell more upon a commercial understanding. Seemingly different as are these views and the lines of argument by which they are supported, they tend to direct attention to a common issue; for commerce must have protection by armed force, if it is to increase through that confidence which can alone sustain its operations.

The mere size of our Colonies, the increasing importance of securing them as good markets, their past and present desire to give British goods the preference, the belief that if they become independent or annexed to a foreign power the advantages they now offer will be lost, are all considerations which, together with nobler sentiments, have influenced men in "taking stock" of our position.

That we must make our choice between a closer union or disintegration is a fear expressed by some, whose logical faculties are apt to run away with their experience. It seems almost "too good to be true" that with greater expansion there shall not come a greater strain on our relations with our kindred. This is a fear and a misgiving which haunts those who cannot place sufficient confidence in the illogical wisdom of the

Anglo-Saxon procedure of government. We have dislocated the central power so much that it is only by a greater balance of moral and physical strength that any central authority can be said to exist at all, and then only by the free assignation to it on the part of the Colonies, of the power it retains.

A declaration of independence seems to be only unpopular in the Colonies because by a nominal dependence on us they secure a real national freedom, with security against foreign attack. Will the security against foreign attack long remain obtainable only through union with ourselves, and will the obligation to fight all enemies be reciprocally acknowledged by the Colonies in future years if we are attacked?

These are the doubts which make many anxious to draw more "closely the bonds between us." This can be done by rendering those bonds mutually valuable, and making it plain to all men that they are so. Hence the institution of the Federation League, and the cry for "Imperial Federation."

## CHAPTER II.

### PLANS FOR FEDERATION.

THE constitution of the Federation League is only one of the results which have followed the attention excited by the growth and developing policy of our Colonies. Plans had previously been formulated for "closer union," but had excited little observation. It may be as well to glance at the first impressions produced by the news of the formation of the League, and the support given to it by public men at home and elsewhere.

The attitude of a portion of the Canadian press towards the League has been hostile, chiefly because the speeches made by the members who met in London were vague enough to give room for unfounded fears. "Mr. Forster's idea," said the chief Liberal paper at Toronto, "may be said in brief to be that the Colonies should at once begin to bear a full share of the total cost of all he calls defence, and that they should only have the right, through their agents, of saying what they thought about any war that seemed imminent." A curious instance of the want of confidence in their own power and position is shown by such an utterance. It is

only worthy of observation because it proves that so jaundiced and acrimonious is political controversy, that it is difficult for any person to be held as an impartial public servant. It would seem that a professional diplomatic training is the only means of providing an envoy who can be trusted by both political parties in an Anglo-Saxon state. American ministers are changed with their party and are recalled as soon as a new President takes office, and they, as well as Colonial envoys, would be subject to the same limitation in representative value, were it not for the fervid patriotism which regards them during their tenure of office as neither "Democrat" nor "Republican." In the eyes of their fellow-citizens the shortcomings of party nomination are forgotten in the "American Minister."

Would that there were more of this patriotic feeling among our own colonists, and that love of country could altogether obliterate in their minds the home prejudices they have conceived against a public man when he has become the servant of the whole people and labours for them in another land.

The want of confidence exhibited by such utterances in the strength of their own position is yet more incomprehensible. Just as it is feared that their envoy will be too much overshadowed and biassed by London's influences, so it is assumed that sufficient weight will not be attached to the opinion of his country. They know not their own power, and frightened at what is not even a shadow, believe that a diminution of their own freedom

is possible by the anticipated encroachments made on it through the preponderating influence of other statesmen than their own. They demonstrate thus an absolute ignorance of relative power. England could not, if she would, diminish by one iota the rights and privileges she is proud to see her children use so well. Any opinion expressed on Canadian subjects by Englishmen can only have weight in so far as it is caught up by Canadian opinion, and comes back to Britain with the signature of a people no longer her dependents, but her strong allies.

The very power which the too-diffident Canadian desires in imagination for his country, the very reputation of freedom and independence arising from that power, are treasures in England's eyes, because she knows that such freedom in her sons is the surest pledge of affection for herself. Canada and Australia are too strong to be suspicious. They cannot be either disregarded or driven. They must be consulted, and find that consideration which is their due. And it does not follow that because men cast about for an adequate expression of the free and loving relations existing between them and ourselves, ought but the majesty of their own volition shall pronounce the decree.

When we hear of such fears as those implied in an apprehension that England desires to impose fresh burdens of her own mere motion, we must remember that unnatural as such ideas seem to us, the colonists have seen during recent years that England is concentrating her military power. Formerly she undertook



to provide the garrisons for Canada, and both there and in New Zealand her troops were ready to do work which now falls to the hands of the new countries. Imperial troops have been wholly withdrawn from Australasia, and the slender garrison of Halifax, a force wholly insufficient adequately to guard that important military and naval station, is the only fraction of the Imperial army retained in North America.

The English Treasury used to spend over two and a half millions every year where it now spends nothing, for we cannot call the thousand or two spent on an Imperial prison in Australia, or the small amount spent at Halifax, a Colonial expense. Halifax we keep because it is a naval coaling station, and the Australian prison might be given up to-morrow unless we wish to keep it up for our own purposes. Military posts are now expensive to us, but the great self-growing Colonies represent, in all but war time, a pure financial gain. They have undertaken their own defence, expecting certainly to be assisted by us in war time, but in ordinary times demanding no return of the troops we have withdrawn from them. Yet this withdrawal has thrown heavy expenses upon them, for their military budget is of necessity becoming heavier the more they realize the wisdom of organization. Our act of making them responsible for their own home defence was wise, for it stimulated them to keep a good militia which would more than double our power to defend them in war; but it threw burdens on them, and the suspicion among some of them is not unnatural, however

unfounded it may be, that we desire to impose the obligation of foreign service as well as that of home defence.

If therefore the aims of the League be at first looked at askance, we must not be discouraged. Let us see, for instance, what encouragement may be derived from the words of leading Colonial statesmen.

Mr. Blake is the Leader of the Opposition in Canada, and it may be gathered from his speeches that, although he does not believe that the present form of connection between England and Canada possesses the element of permanence, there is a possibility and hope, notwithstanding enormous difficulties, of re-organizing the Empire on a Federal basis, so as to reconcile British connection with British freedom. Sir John Macdonald, the Prime Minister, who for more than forty years has been in public life, and for the greater portion of that long period has been in office, has joined the Federation League, and has spoken warmly of the good to be effected by such an association, and of his assurance that Canada's support would always be given in case of wars of defence. He added that he believed Britain's wars would never be wars of aggression.

Mr. Service, Premier of Victoria, has not only shown a desire to have the Federative principle introduced in his own country, but has expressed his hope that Australia may have a greater share and more defined position in the Imperial Economy. "It may be difficult," he says, "to say in what way so vast and scattered an Empire can be federated; but any scheme that may be decided upon,

while it cannot take from us anything that we at present possess, must give to the Colonies more tangible influence, and more legal and formal authority, than they have now." Other Australian statesmen representing other provinces have expressed themselves in a similar sense.

It is certain that the fair and strong sisterhood of free communities in Australia will combine some day, and that they will form a Power whose rule shall be paramount in the Pacific, and whose sceptre can brook no rival under the Southern Cross. They will demand place and voice in the Imperial council, even should they not now be more united and emphatic in declaring their wishes. It is evident that from the utterances of statesmen occupying widely different positions the same idea may be gathered, that there is a want of common organization for defence and for foreign policy; and further that the organization wanted is one that shall give free scope to the voices which represent those parts of the Empire which are not comprised in the Three Kingdoms.

Hitherto these kingdoms have alone decided all such questions. More and more, as the change resulting from growth makes itself discernible, the great Colonies will demand a knowledge of what passes, and a share in the determination of the policy affecting all; and will not be content with the volunteered confidence, or with the withholding of information on his mere judgment of what is best, of any individual Secretary of State.

A society such as the League, bound to consider and

bring to public attention all that touches Colonial questions, is likely to be welcomed and supported by intelligent public opinion everywhere; and it is evident that influential leaders already view it with favour, and recommend its expansion by branch societies in the Colonies.

Some of the practical proposals which have already been flung up like balloons into the air to see how the wind blows may be mentioned. They are few, and it is fortunate they are so, for it is most advisable in this respect that we should not push ahead too fast. Our present relations are good, and although certain circumstances might arise which might put a strain upon them, yet it is only when some very unexampled and strongly expressed wish for an alteration is evinced that we should be safe in carrying it into effect.

Men say that the Federation of the Empire is a question mainly for the people; and so it is, but the peoples affected are so widely separated that they much need the counsel and guidance of leaders, who must permeate the Colonies with their ideas if they are to carry them along with them to any happy result.

Lord Grey's opinion is entitled to much weight, for he has had long experience of the working of Colonial affairs, and he recollects with satisfaction the part taken in the work of Colonial Government of a Committee of the Privy Council which some years ago was called the Board for Trade and the Plantations. It advised the Sovereign on points connected with the Colonies, and, curiously

enough, was even in 1849 sufficiently ambitious for the future of Australia to advise at that date the Federal Union of the Southern Colonies under one Governor-General.

The position given by Canada to her representative in England when she in 1880 appointed Sir Alexander Galt High Commissioner, had been pointed out by the Canadian Governor-General of that day as affording in the person of the envoy a means of incorporating a Canadian statesman in the diplomatic machinery of the Empire.

At the Colonial Institute in 1884 a suggestion was formally made by him that a council in which such envoys might sit should form part of the regular Imperial Government. It is noteworthy that Lord Grey approved of such a scheme, and in 1885 he spoke on the subject as follows :

“ The difficulty of devising any mode of enabling the Colonies to exercise any real influence in the Imperial Government is very great, and I must confess myself quite unable to propose one which would be altogether satisfactory. But, in the absence of any better arrangement, I am still of opinion that a suggestion I threw out in an article I contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* of April, 1879, might be adopted with advantage. What I proposed was that we should revert to what was the practice up to the middle of the last century, of making large use of a Committee of the Privy Council in the management of Colonial affairs. The Board of Trade, under the name of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Plantations, took an effective part with the Secretary of State in Colonial administration. This practice has long fallen into disuse, and the amount of other business now assigned to the Board of Trade makes it undesirable that it should be revived ; but I think advantage would be derived from giving the Colonial Secretary the assistance of another Committee appointed for that purpose, which might also

be made the means of enabling the most important Colonies to exercise the influence they ought to have in directing the policy of the Government in all matters affecting the common interests of the whole Empire. With this view the Queen might be advised to appoint to be members of her Privy Council such of the Agents of the principal Colonies as might receive from the Legislatures they represent sufficient salaries to enable them to reside in this country and perform the duties assigned to them.

“To a Committee composed of these Colonists, with such other members of the Privy Council as her Majesty might from time to time direct to be summoned to it, the Colonial Secretary might be empowered to refer such questions as he should think proper for their advice. The Reports of this Committee would, of course, have no legal authority till confirmed by the Queen, on the advice of her Ministers, whose responsibility for all the acts of the Government would thus remain unaltered. But the Colonial Agents representing the several Legislatures would exercise a powerful influence in guiding the policy of the Government. Questions arise which more immediately affect the Colonies, but on which peace or war for the Empire may eventually turn—such as those relating to the maintenance of British rights of fishery. These would naturally be referred to such a Committee; and if a quarrel with some foreign State should arise from the course taken by our Government, it would have far more hearty support from the Colonies if they had, through their representatives, been consulted on the steps that had led to it. There are very many other matters on which the wishes and opinions of the Colonies ought to have weight in deciding on the measures of the Government, and on all these the proposed Committee would enable them to make themselves heard. The Imperial Government would not rightly resist what might be found from the proceedings of the Committee to be the general wish of the Colonies; and, on the other hand, it would derive from it valuable support in resisting unreasonable wishes sometimes put forward by the Colonies. That unreasonable wishes and demands are sometimes urged by the Colonies is very clear. Nothing, for instance, can, I think, be more unreasonable than the demand which seems now to be made by the Australian Colonies that England should set up a claim to dominion over the whole Pacific, with a right to exclude all other nations from islands which

neither she nor her Colonists are able to occupy and administer. If this demand were gravely put forward in the Colonial Committee which I have suggested, the Secretary of State would almost certainly find himself supported in opposing so preposterous a demand by representatives of all the Colonies not immediately concerned. At the same time, the claim of the Cape Colonists that no foreign Power should be allowed to occupy Zululand would probably be supported by the whole Committee. In short, the English at home would be able to secure support for their opposition to manifestly unreasonable Colonial propositions among the reasonable Colonial representatives, but when the English beyond the sea were unanimous in opposing home policy, there would be a free presumption that we were in the wrong. Such at least seems a reasonable and a practical suggestion, which only needs to be worked with prudence and common sense in order to arrest the tendencies working in favour of disintegration and to operate directly in favour of the restoration and the maintenance of the unity of the Empire."

Some objections expressed to this plan may be given in the form of double columns, giving in one the objection and in the other the answer.

Such a council would lead to delay.

Colonial envoys, being at hand, can be consulted as soon as a Cabinet or foreign ambassadors. Telegraphs make necessary communication with the Colonies instantaneous.

Indian Council has been proved an unnecessary adjunct to the machinery of the India Office.

This may be granted without affecting question of Colonial Council. In Indian Council voices only of old ex-officials are heard, and no serious result is possible from neglect or over-ruling of their advice. Envoys' voices are the responsible voices of living nations, whose goodwill or hostility must influence decisions.

Envoys would not understand Crown Colony questions so well as Colonial Office Clerks.

Granted, and they would not interfere in them.

In nine cases out of ten, questions discussed would concern one Colony only, or at most two. Envoys of those not affected would have no business,

Where envoys are interested they would say so. Where not, they would let transactions, as now, be concluded by Colonial Secretary and agent of colony affected. That some may listen without interfering is not an objection except against all councils.

“Log rolling,” or agreement between Colonies to tax British Treasury, would arise. Newfoundland might say to Queensland, you get John Bull to protect my fisheries, and I’ll get him to annex New Guinea. John Bull to protect us both against consequences.

Common sense is more likely to be exercised by Council of Representatives than by two working together to influence Colonial Secretary. This last procedure could take place now, if it be possible or likely to take place at all.

Agents-General might thwart English Government.

Impossible consistently with the Colonies wishing to be represented. Colonial air removes English party hate, and even eradicates Irish hostility.

English Cabinet should alone be consulted.

This theory gives up hope of keeping any but our own island and fortified posts in Empire.



- What use? when Canada declares herself against a war, how could Council proceed?
- The British Government would probably have to acquiesce in any general dissent to a war. If dissent came from one great Colony alone, that Colony's antagonism would not be stronger, but modified, if she were consulted about danger, instead of, as now, having the chance of being thrust into it without warning.
- They have not asked for a Council.
- True—and don't have it constituted till they do. The proposal is only a few weeks old.
- Would be instituted to influence Colonies for Free Trade. Would be instituted to get Protection introduced into England.
- Moral of such objections : Each part of Empire must take its own way in commercial policy.
- “ A proposal to restore Downing Street rule.”
- On the contrary, gives surest means of counteracting any tendency to such a nightmare.
- Political and commercial egotism make it impossible.
- Trade of each on its own lines can be protected by power of all. Imperial machine can push interest of each. Witness Canadian envoy and British ambassador working as coadjutors to get Canadian Treaty of Commerce with Spain. Different Trade Treaties for different parts of Empire can be negotiated by combined Imperial machinery.

Put relatives into same house and they will quarrel.	Council would not put them into same house, but add a storey (for increasing family) to house of each; ensure common drainage provisions to prevent sewer gases; and engage a policeman, paid by each householder, to protect property of all.
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Of the "pros" and "cons" above enumerated, the most important is the question, "Who wants this Council?" There may be a great deal of good in the proposal, but the good must first be seen by the Colonies, and they must express their desire to be thus consulted before any Council be constituted.

Another proposal, likely enough to receive some favour in the future, has been made, namely, that some body shall be formed, having many of the features of the Federal Senate of America. At Washington an assembly very much less numerous than the House of Representatives unites in the Senate the representation of the several States, which, until the Civil War, were always called "sovereign states," and may still be said to merit that title, although their sovereignty is qualified by inability to break loose from the Federal tie. The war settled that point, and the right of secession was surrendered with the last of the Virginian armies when Lee gave up his sword at Appomatox. No Federation should allow the right of secession.

But the sovereignty, although limited by the disability to destroy the Union, remains for all internal purposes

Each state is even allowed to raise what troops it pleases as State Militia, and so to possess its own armed forces. It can make what laws it chooses on the tenure of property, on taxation for State revenue, on marriage and every civil matter, but is not allowed to leave the Union or embroil it at home or abroad.

It is possible that hereafter some mode may be devised by which a small body of elected men may, through some such device as that which sends senators to Washington, contribute Imperial councillors to some central Imperial body. The difficulties are great, even in the collection of a small number of men so chosen, but it would be far easier to get good men to sit in such a capacity than it would be to obtain members for any such assembly as that advocated by those who think only of assemblies like the House of Commons. In the meantime a dislike to being outvoted would affect each proposal as far as the Colonial mind is concerned. It would seem wiser not to hurry, but to adapt ourselves to exigencies as they arise.

The responsibility of the members of such an Imperial Senate would be as perfect as is that of the honourable gentlemen who each speak in the name of an American state, and the power of the Federal Senate is one of the most remarkable of the political phenomena of our day. On foreign affairs it has the preponderating influence, and is indeed a very notable instance of a body at first devised only as a check to the popular House becoming the most powerful of the National Assemblies.

The experiment has proved that in a vast Empire, composed of different states having diverse geographical interests, men elected indirectly for a given term of years may form a governing body, having a vast and abiding power. The German "Reich's" Federal Council is another case of representation in a small focus of different states.

The German case can hardly give us any useful lesson, for the German states are now only nominally sovereign, and their Federal Council has little power, and will have less as the "particularist" party's influence wanes and dies. The American Senate gets through its work easily enough, although it has far more to discuss than would any British Imperial Senate.

Plans for larger popular assemblies have been advocated. On this subject writers have ventured on the boldest theories. It has been suggested that a Federal Parliament representing in proportionate numbers the population of the whole Empire should meet in London, and that to this great body all affairs which are not local, and all Imperial policy, should be submitted. It is, however, difficult to conceive how such a large body would work. The British Parliament finds the greatest difficulty in getting through the labour which it annually undertakes, and any addition to the programme would render the progress of measures discussed a task too great for the best parliamentary organizer or tactician.

Following the example of the Canadian Federation, it has been also suggested that a fixed number of members,

say 100, should be allotted by Great Britain to a Parliament dealing with Imperial affairs alone, to the exclusion of all local questions, and that the Colonies should be represented in the ratio of their population as each would stand relatively to the British 100. In this proposal the idea has been taken from the Canadian Confederation. There the fixed number of sixty-four was allotted to the province of Quebec in order to guard the integrity of the autonomy of that province, with its characteristics so largely French and Roman Catholic; while the other provinces contributed their quota to the Federal Parliament in proportion to the so-called "pivot" number of members sent up to it by Quebec.

The difficulties in the way of this scheme would not be so much the intricacy and variety and number of questions discussed as the difficulty of impracticability of function. With both the last-mentioned schemes, the distance between the homes of those composing such an assembly and the place of meeting, seems at once an objection. When it takes sixty days to come and return it is difficult to imagine how the Australian contingent could be expected to attend.

Another objection is this: that in the Imperial questions introduced it is conceivable that the Colonial representatives would not care to be constantly outvoted by those representing British ideas; while in course of time, as the Colonies became more populous, we should not care to be outvoted by the majority of the members who happen to hail from our "auxiliary kingdoms," as Sir John Macdonald calls the Colonies.

One argument in favour of an attempt to bring together so numerous an assemblage as that contemplated by the advocates of an Imperial Parliament representing every party and possessing executive powers, is that responsibility would necessarily give much weight to any vote. It is very doubtful if colonists could believe that men attending the Parliament in London would be sufficiently in contact with their constituencies to make the responsibility of the vote given at Westminster very real. It is well known to us that the result of a debate may largely vary according to the passing emotion among the constituencies at the time. An Australian from Sydney would only know by telegraph of any suddenly developed opinion affecting any question which might be under discussion here. Any wave of excitement developed among them would be supposed hardly to reach him. The member representing an antipodean constituency in England would thus not be so much a popular representative as would his colleague sitting on the same bench and representing a London district with which he is in daily touch and contact. To make such responsibility valid it would be necessary that the representative should be a man having more than a local knowledge of his people's wishes. He should be constantly returning to them in order to keep up his contact with them, and should even then, if he desires to possess and retain their confidence, be a man of more marked character and greater ability than can be readily found in the rank and file of Parliamentarians. He should rather be elected

on some such principle as that which gives to the Senate of the United States a senator for California chosen through an indirect electoral system.

Nomination to the House of Lords of prominent politicians from distant parts of the Empire has been proposed. There are, however, very few politicians having influence in their native Parliaments who would leave them to sit in a House of Peers. Want of responsibility would always be held in their own country to invalidate the value of their voice and vote. The best that can be said for such a proposal is that by means of such nominations a deserved compliment might be paid to distinguished judges or to others who from very rare circumstances may not have been able to take part in the more arduous labours of public life at home. Their presence in "The Lords" might be considered as a compliment paid to the ability of the individuals, but could hardly be looked upon as expressing England's wish to have the Colonial voice heard as a guiding or directing influence. There are a few, but there are very few men, to whom the compliment might be paid, who could at once accept it with pleasure themselves, and find their satisfaction reflected in the minds of their fellow-citizens. On this the governors would be able to form an opinion, and any selection should be made with the governors' and their ministry's full concurrence.

### CHAPTER III.

“GO SLOW!”

OUR people, stirred by the Imperial instinct, are already putting forward the cry, “Draw tighter the bonds between ourselves and the Colonies.” Many political associations are pronouncing these words as formulating what our American cousins would call “a plank in the party platform.” It is to be hoped that the sentiment, properly guided, may be “a plank” not in any party platform, but in the national policy. But if it is to be successful, it must not try to “tighten bonds” as men would draw tight a slack rein to curb a restive horse. It must rather be the hauling on our own ropes to brace the yards which bear our own sails, that they may be squared to catch the Colonial breezes, for it is with those winds that the vessel of State can make most headway.

But we must wait for the winds. We can do but little without them, although we may have some auxiliary steam power on board. In plain words, we must propose no changes unless we find that the Colonies desire



also to make them. This axiom is so important that it bears repetition.

It is far too early to have any cut-and-dried schemes as to the best manner in which closer union may be effected. Any new movement is only too likely at first to be misapprehended and misunderstood. As a proof of this, we have heard in England that by moving at all we are sure to commence the disintegration which we wish to avoid.

We must prove that fears such as those expressed in the following cry of alarm written by a Canadian, and showing accurately enough the mind of a large number of the citizens, is founded on error. It comes from the pushing and thriving city of Winnipeg.

“If an alteration in our existing trade relations with other countries is impracticable or undesirable, why in the name of common sense do we talk about this Imperial Federation proposition at all? We already have all the protection we need from the Empire. And we pay for it too. Do we not run the constant risk of being involved in British wars? Would our country not be the first object of attack in the event of hostilities with almost any of the great Powers? We should, then, be forced to defend ourselves whether the war was aggressive or not.

“Our available funds are all required for the development and improvement of our own land, why should we consent to contribute to the expenditures of the Empire? What interest have we in the liquidation of the English national debt? What would it profit us to see our taxes diverted to Australia or India, or some other part of the world of equally little interest to us? This so-called Imperial Federation scheme, of which the projectors themselves know little more than that they know nothing, is the very silliest craze that ever originated in the brain of a crank and was taken up by a fad-hunting people.

“The British Empire is as much a unit to-day as it ever will be, because it is as much a unit as it is desirable that it should be. There is loyalty throughout it to the central power, because there is satisfaction with the existing state of affairs. Dissatisfaction will only arise when there is a change. To make such a change would be to court dissatisfaction, with the certainty that there would then be no means of allaying it. Once incorporated with the proposed union, withdrawal would be for ever out of the question. The central power would be as likely to let one of the counties of England set up on its own account as to permit the withdrawal from the Federation of any Colony. At the present time the knowledge that we have only to express a desire for separation to have it granted, beyond doubt goes far to prevent the growth of any such desire. Once let the ties which ‘light as air though strong as iron’ bind the Colonies to the mother country, be exchanged for others of leaden weight and iron strength, and see how we would chafe under them. But chafing then would be worse than vain.

“We now add to the Empire all the strength we are capable of furnishing. Nothing more could be extorted from us, no matter what the device resorted to. We will never consent to pay taxes to be expended beyond our own borders. If discontent were stirred up, as it certainly would be by any tightening of the bands whose natural tendency is to grow slacker, the Empire would be weakened instead of strengthened by the attempted ‘unification.’

“We see everything to dread and nothing to gain from Imperial Federation. If successful, even on the broadest and apparently most honourable basis, its only effect will be to stir up disaffection where it does not now exist and where it will afterwards be impossible to obtain relief.”

Wild and vague as such fears and prejudices must be pronounced to be, they yet confirm an important indication of the mischief which may be done by proceeding too fast in any development which may ultimately be acknowledged as beneficial.

It must be remembered that at present Great Britain pays the lion's share of all expenses involved in our rela-

tionship, therefore an alteration of almost any kind, and in however slight a degree it may be effected, would result in increased taxation of our “kin beyond the sea.” For objects clearly useful and subserving their purposes they will probably be perfectly willing to incur extra expenses, but their interest in a change, however slight, must first be made manifest. They have over and over again proved that they will come to our help in any strait. They have shown that they will always give large special donations. But the question is, How can you make it evident that a permanent subscription all round is necessary for certain common purposes?

Local egotism must not be told that it is to abate its selfishness, but that the narrow interest can be best served by the wider patriotism. We have “full-blown specimens” of the eloquent egotist among ourselves. Sometimes he is benevolent to the Colonies because he thinks they will give him trade without trouble. Sometimes he is spiteful to them because he thinks they will cost more than they are worth. Sometimes he is masterful to them because he thinks that they ought to be as he is, and that if they grow to a different and home-made pattern they are worthless.

There is nothing in politics so unfortunate as the influence of politicians whose sympathy is determined by the acceptance or rejection of some economical formula. They are like some surgeons who would deny the value of any treatment unless it were practised in the hospital they frequent. They are fearful through ignorance, and

are ignorant because they choose not to hear. They are un-English because they are incapable of that spirit of healthy compromise and progress which has made English politics the glory of freedom, and such men are destitute of the daring which has made "wider England." They leave out of their closet-concocted calculations the living heart and generous impulses which they condemn as "sentiment," although these constitute a power to preserve friendship, nationality, and union. In their shortsightedness their aims are narrowed, and they are apt to alienate those whose children may be, according to our present action, either the firm friends or the powerful enemies of our descendants.

Of those who would compel respect for their judgment, and who would dictate for ever the foreign policy from the English Imperial headquarters, a distinguished gentleman, who has held high office on both sides of the Atlantic, says :

"As a Colonist I may be excused for evincing a deep interest in this question of the future government of the Empire, because, manifestly, if no solution be found for the problem of its maintenance, the country of my adoption must certainly ere long be exposed to all the hazards of early national life, and deprived of her birthright in the glowing annals of the mother country. I claim that a British-born subject emigrating to Canada has in no degree waived or impaired his right to an equal voice with his fellow-subjects resident in the United Kingdom, in determining what may or may not be best for the common Empire. I wholly deny the pretension which seems to be present to most English minds, that it is for them alone to judge of such questions ; that the interests of Great Britain and Ireland are only to be considered ; and that the colonist has no concern beyond the local affairs of the country in

which he happens to dwell. Far, indeed, above this standard is the conception of most colonists of their duties and rights. While their countrymen have remained in the peaceful prosecution of industry at home, they have been engaged in the more arduous task of extending the influence, commerce, and civilization of Great Britain in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and countless other possessions of the Crown; they have been cheered with the conviction that in these several spheres they have been inuing the basis of a mighty Empire to be hereafter their protection and their pride. And it is with a feeling nearly approaching to resentment that they observe the prevalence of the idea in the minds of their fellow-countrymen at home, in dealing with foreign or Colonial subjects, that the only point to be considered is how it may affect themselves. Surely the time cannot be remote when the pressure of over population—failing all other reason—will force Englishmen to recognize the truth that an Englishman in Australia is as good and useful a citizen of the British Empire as an ill-paid workman in Birmingham and Leeds, and that he is entitled to an equal voice in determining whether Egypt and the Suez Canal, through which his communication with England is maintained, shall be left to anarchy, or whether France shall demoralize Oceanica by making it the cesspool of her crime, vice, and infidelity. But if the colonists, feeling their growing strength, are becoming somewhat impatient of the assumed superiority of their fellow-subjects in the mother country, unquestionably the concession to them of the entire control of their local affairs has strengthened instead of weakened their loyalty and pride in the Empire. It may well be that their very success impels them towards an assumption of more responsibility, as the price for increased power and consideration.”

The feeling expressed by the above-quoted sentences is not unnatural, for it has been rumoured that although proposals were mooted that the French claims to parts of the Newfoundland shores should be relinquished for a compensating advantage in the possession by France of certain islands in the Pacific, none of the Australian Agents-General were informed that such a matter had

entered into the realms of discussion, although it was well known that Australia takes the keenest interest in everything affecting the settlement of the archipelagoes of the Southern seas ; nor was Canada consulted on the subject, although the Newfoundland fishery questions are intimately connected with her own. In all these matters the same tendency is seen to regard ourselves, because we at present pay most heavily for any shortcomings or any mistakes, as the sole repository of responsibility, although the evil of the maldirection of affairs would not fall solely upon ourselves.

It must not be supposed for one moment that any want of consideration is intentionally shown by the Colonial Office to those who may be involved and embarrassed by such proceedings. The Colonial representative directly interested would, in all likelihood, be consulted, but none other ; and we are apt to forget how nowadays we cannot deal with one without infringing upon the freedom of the others. It is the system prescribing imperfect consultation, which is in fault.

It may be argued that as no general remonstrance has come, none may be expected ; but they who have held office as Governors know that friction has sometimes been avoided by the liberal use of persuasion, and that the feeling expressed in the foregoing utterance of a gentleman who knows of what he speaks, is one that is not founded on imagination.

It is the unfounded assumption of a superior knowledge, leading to action without full consultation, which

may bring us into danger. It is this which we wish to see avoided before any mistake occurs that shall disagreeably enforce attention to the matter. It can hardly be denied that exigencies may arise, and that misunderstandings may produce an awkward and strained state of matters, from imprudent action on the part of the Colonies, or from carelessness or remissness, or lack of sympathy and information derived from a system of imperfect consultation on the part of the Imperial authorities.

No wonder that any failure in the acquisition of an “all-round view” is regarded with some resentment, although it must be observed that the refusal to appreciate the motives of our kinsmen has a charm for an ever lessening party amongst us, and is repudiated by many who, a few years ago, were prepared to cast off the ties they now speak of with toleration. Among those who in England have been responsible for the conduct of the policy of Cabinets, it may truly be said that a party repudiating Colonial responsibilities does not now exist.

In the two extracts given at the commencement of this chapter we have typical examples of the natural misgivings aroused by what is novel and unknown, together with the satisfaction at the position attained in the ascent in Colonial growth; and again of the nobler ambition such progress has awakened, and we understand what are the feelings aroused by the attitude often taken by “Britishers.” The language used enforces the lesson that for any common good we must make common sacrifices, and have a thorough mutual comprehension of

the necessarily differing wishes of different parts of the Empire. If we are only to raise the wind that shall sweep the chords to make vocal dumb desires and aspirations, we shall work for good. By bringing near to the minds of the peoples occupying great and important territories which have been conquered for civilization under our flag, the advantages offered by an Imperial union in affording the largest market and the cheapest system of effectual defence for trade and home, we may confirm an alliance whose operation shall be wholly beneficial.

Who shall be able to withstand the will of the hundreds of millions of English-speaking people when they cooperate for peace and for commerce? The work of Imperial Federation should be not so much to make changes as to confirm the position of our colonists where they are satisfied; to push their aims and commercial policy where they think that their position may be improved; to realize thoroughly ourselves the difference involved in the fiscal policy to be pursued on their behalf as compared with that we deem best for ourselves. If these differences be frankly seen and understood, the first step in a true union will be gained.

It is not a matter of surprise that hesitation should be discernible when the question is raised of increased armaments. Many of us at home groan at the incessant wars provoked by our far-stretching trade. But we recognize the obligation because we have experienced the value of thrusting our hands into the markets of the world wherever situated and wherever the genius of our merchants



has struck a vein of gold. From our insular position on the ocean highway between America and the European territories, we have derived a geographical advantage which we have used to the full. We have gradually absorbed much of the carrying trade of the world, and possess far more shipping than any other nation, while Canada flying the same flag comes fourth on the list of shipowning nations.

We have been taught to recognize the necessity of large armaments to protect this expanded commerce. On the other hand, the new English-speaking peoples have been accustomed to trust to our navy for the protection of any commerce they may have at sea, and have been in no such dread of war by land as to accustom them, as Continental Europeans are accustomed, to large forces to guard against invasion by land. They have also a paramount and pressing demand for their money in developing the great public works which every part of their vast territories are constantly requiring. Their populations, settling and increasing around centres distant from each other must have communication by rail, and millions upon millions are spent by Colonial Governments on the making of the railroads designed for this purpose.

The drain upon their treasuries for these purposes is unlike anything we have ever known in England. Government must more or less be at the back of the companies undertaking such works, if they can be undertaken by companies at all, and are not burdens to be directly constructed, managed, and paid for by the State. Crown

lands must be granted, subsidies and guarantees given, if the companies find the work too heavy, and an almost endless list of claims has to be met in the deepening of rivers, the construction of harbours, the extension of roads and telegraphs, and in the support of the thousand and one items of cost incidental to Government action where population is too poor and too scant to carry out what may, in older countries, be done by private enterprise.

No wonder then that not only "bloated armaments" but all payments for military preparations are looked at askance. The mere wish that no trouble shall arise is too often assumed to be a guarantee against any war, and where there is little risk, the temptation is always to turn to the nearest want demanding money. The furniture must be got before the insurance on it against fire is paid. Need the money be paid at all? Will not care to avoid fire make such an outlay unnecessary? There is more excuse for the negligence shown by such a frame of mind, and for the want of proper military precautions, than we are apt to allow. "Fuss and Feathers" is with the optimist party the phrase for military array, and the minister who has to see that the militia is efficient and prepared for defence is often dubbed "The minister for militia and expense."

Such grumblings are perhaps only the inevitable concomitants of the warlike organization which the majority of Colonial Parliaments are perfectly ready to supply, and they are mentioned not to discourage the work of general Imperial organization, which must indeed be undertaken, but only to enforce the moral "go slow."

## CHAPTER IV.

### OLD POLICY AND NEW DEPARTURES.

IN a consideration of what kind of union is possible, we have no precedents which may help us. Our position is one wholly unexampled in all history. In no case in ancient or modern times has a people thrown off kindred communities endowing them after a time with full powers of self-government, allowing them to tax themselves and the products of the mother country as they choose, and to inaugurate a fiscal policy wholly their own. The Colonies of old days were always tributary provinces. The tribute we acquire is like a marriage dower that comes with love, exacted by no legislation, and enforced by no power. It is, nevertheless, a tribute of immense value, for coming as it does from the natural desire of our kindred to favour the mother country, it pays us more than could be wrung by ancient or modern states from subject lands held under military domination.

If we look back for a century and consider the language held to the thirteen colonies of America, and contrast this with the attitude we assume towards those who have remained within the pale of the Empire, we

shall see how radical is the alteration effected by time and experience. It was because we undertook the chief expense of war on the American continent that we chose to assume the right to levy taxes, without the expressed consent of the people taxed. Was it not done for their good, and to carry on their defence? Could a nation allow those whom it had planted, and fostered, and protected, and for whom it was now fighting, to dictate when and where and how the necessary contributions should be given?

It was not the idea that regarded the Colonies as so many milch cows for the Imperial Treasury which made George III. and Lord North obstinate in levying taxes, but it was the mistaken notion that England alone had the right to judge of what was best for the Empire. The result was civil war—revolution as it was called—and the independence of the thirteen colonies, after a conflict waged on the part of the king under the idea that he could not allow the Empire committed to his charge by the Almighty to be broken into pieces by secession. The secession was successful, and its success was hailed as the triumph of right by many an English statesman and patriot. And from the day of that success the old Colonial policy pursued by the mother country towards her kith and kin died and was buried out of sight.

The loyalists of the Revolutionary War fled northward and founded the English-Canadian provinces, and the influence of the great struggle made England's policy a

doubtful one, for her governors were not apt to encourage much liberty, and loyalty was still held to mean a certain subservience to the ideas dominant in the British Cabinet.

Time passed, and Australia began to attract emigration, and then came in Canada an uprising on the part of the French against the too long deferred concession of full self-government. As their ancestors' Norman cousins under King John declared for greater freedom, so the men under Papineau demanded autonomy. A boy who served gallantly in the insurrection became afterwards Sir George Cartier, loyal amongst the loyal, and a leader in Canadian statesmanship.

Again came a change and, with Lord Durham's visit, the inauguration of a better rule. Thenceforward a new era began, whose dominating principle became the grant of responsible government and liberty, not as late, but as soon as it could be given. It was to be given whenever a colony could raise enough revenue to pay its civil servants. Wider powers were to accompany widening development. But still the influence of "Home" was to be used for the maintenance of what may be called a special commercial religion—for such "Free Trade" had become in the eyes of the English.

The Colonies found that the political object of the greatest importance in the opinion of the party which was steadily acquiring more and more power was "to relieve industry and commerce from the shackles with which they had been loaded by measures adopted for their advancement under the erroneous theory of 'Protection.'"

It was observed that this idea was a revolution in an established system of policy. "For more than two centuries," wrote Lord Grey, "the great object of all European nations in seeking to obtain possession of colonies was the gain supposed to accrue from the monopoly of their commerce, which it was the practice for the parent state to maintain, while, on the other hand, it gave to their produce a preference in its own markets. This policy began to be relaxed immediately after the American Revolution (of which calamity it was in truth the chief cause); but although the views on which it is founded had been considerably modified, the principle of placing the trade with the Colonies on a different footing from that with other countries had been maintained up to the year 1846, and was generally regarded as one of unquestionable propriety and wisdom."

He remarks that in the tariff of 1842 the principle of reciprocal advantages being confined to our trade with Colonies was adhered to, and that the circumstance showed "how strong was the hold on men's minds of the old opinions respecting the Colonial trade, and how great was the shock given to these opinions when the policy of placing our trade with the Colonies on the same footing as that with foreign countries was first systematically adopted in Sir Robert Peel's Act for the Repeal of the former Corn Law." This was done, be it observed, not because the Colonies had adopted Free Trade, but because we had done so.

It is the desire of many among the colonists to-day to

revive the practice familiar to politicians before 1842, and to have reciprocal advantages given to the trade of the Empire with differential duties levied against foreigners. It is this hope which affords a line of action for a numerous body of Colonial friends of Imperial Federation. Probably their hope of converting England to the policy of re-enacting differential duties is as vain as the hope a party in England cherish of converting the Colonies to the doctrines of the good to be derived from a universal application of the principles of Free Trade. Each idea may find its exponent under the same flag, and prosper with different systems under an alliance giving scope to both.

There is no reason why one commercial treaty with the foreigner should not embrace in its provisions different arrangements for different parts of the Empire. If we have discarded "differential duties," it is our duty to recognize the difference in the commercial views of England and her Colonies; and to push the interests of each along the line of road each has chosen. There will be no mutual hurt given so long as mutual assistance is secured.

The fear that when once direction of policy was yielded by the mother country the connection with the Colonies would not be worth retaining has vanished, with the experience that they prefer to take British goods rather than others, thus giving voluntarily that which could not be exacted by force.

Lord Grey's remarks on the degree of control to be exercised over the local authorities show what was considered requisite thirty years ago.

“The Secretary of State,” he said, “as the organ of the Home Government, ought to exercise control very much as the Governor is invested with a greater or less amount of power. In a colony like Canada, where representative institutions have attained their full development, or the Governor is aided in his administrative duties by Ministers who are required to possess the confidence of the Legislature, exceedingly little interference on the part of the Government at home seems to be required. In Colonies where this system of government is in successful operation, the Home Government should attempt little (except in those rare cases where Imperial interests or the honour of the Crown are affected by local measures or proceedings) beyond advising the Colonial authorities, and checking, so as to give an opportunity for further reflection, any ill-considered or hasty measures they may be inclined to adopt. Practically the influence which can thus be exercised through a judicious Governor is very considerable, and may be of great service to the Colonies. In the strife of parties which prevails in all free governments, the existence of an impartial authority serves to check the too great violence with which political contests are sometimes carried on, and the experience and position of a Minister of the Crown in this country enables him frequently to offer useful advice to a Colonial Legislature. . . . While the authority of the Crown, of which the Secretary of State is the depositary, should be used in all cases with great caution, and in Colonies possessing representative insti-



tutions with extreme forbearance, I cannot concur with those who would prohibit all interference on the part of the Home Government in the internal affairs of the Colonies."

The spirit which dictated this utterance in 1853 has been influential ever since, and the powers allowed to the Secretary of State have been judiciously exercised, while the Governors have very rarely withheld the assent of the Crown to Bills of any importance. Yet in the instructions issued to Governors on their appointment, certain classes of measures which might be antagonistic to Imperial interests were mentioned as to be reserved for the approval of the Home authorities.

In Canada, during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dufferin, Mr. Blake and Mr. Mackenzie drew attention to the instructions on the subject of reservation and disallowance of Bills, and the result was that in the instructions issued to Lord Dufferin's successor, all mention of any special measures to be reserved was withdrawn, and the Governor-General was left free to use his own discretion on all matters where Imperial interests might be affected by Canadian legislation.

This was a notable circumstance, and it was to be followed by a step taken by the Canadian Government, which brought into still stronger relief the independence of which they had become possessed.

The "Reform party," as it called itself, had been victorious at the polls in 1873 in Canada in consequence of the disclosures which were made with reference to the

alleged dealings of the Government of the day in the conduct of the great enterprise they wished to undertake in constructing a railway to the Pacific. Mr. Mackenzie came into power for five years, and his Government fell only in 1878. During the five years of his tenure of office, the Free Trade arguments which had obtained mastery in Great Britain had so far exerted their power in British North America that the tariff rate was lowered to the farthest point compatible with the ingathering of a revenue sufficient to meet the bare requirements of the State. No direct taxes have ever been imposed by the Federal Government since the union of the Canadian provinces in the year 1867, such forms of impost being wholly unknown to the people, except in so far as municipal taxation and local assessment may be held to represent them. The Liberal, like the Conservative Government, proposed no direct Federal taxation.

Unfortunately for the party holding the reins of power, the five years were very unfortunate, in that trade throughout the whole of the American continent suffered during that period much depression. The Conservative leaders, working upon this misfortune, declared for a higher rate of tariff, exonerating themselves from any suspicion of disloyalty or unfriendliness to England by saying that they intended rather to foster the import of her goods as compared with those received from the United States. The country had not only become impatient of depression, but was possessed of a people already sufficiently numerous to cherish an ambition which is visible among all our rising

Anglo-Saxon nationalities, viz., to have their national life represented by the fosterage of various forms of native industry. "Why should we be only hewers of wood and drawers of water for other countries? Why should we not be able to manufacture goods, not only for ourselves, but for them also, by creating a market to which our and their merchants shall come? Why should we not keep our people at home by giving them work and enabling them to earn money by which to procure the necessaries, or even luxuries, which they are under present circumstances unable to buy because they lack the means? Why should not our towns rival with their manufactures those trade centres and rapidly increasing and progressive urban populations scattered in such numbers through every state belonging to the great neighbouring Union? They provide for themselves, and they have enough and to spare for others. We are certain, as our population extends over a vast and rich country hitherto untouched, to be able to raise so much wheat that the price of bread shall always be cheap. At the present time the men capable of creating without difficulty more agricultural and industrial produce are enticed away over our borders by the successful American employers, who, through the benefit of protection, are able to employ them at far higher wages than they can earn with us."

Moreover, they declared that, so perfect were the associations or "Rings" composed of American manufacturers, it was within the power of the Americans to "slaughter" any similar establishment on the north of the International

boundary line. This phrase must be explained, for it is or may be, incomprehensible to an English ear. It meant that as soon as any factory was built and had begun to supply the Canadian market with its goods, Canada's acute neighbours to the south combined to offer any similar goods made by themselves at a less price than that hitherto asked by any firm. The lowering of the price rendered the Canadian manufacturer's calculations of profit futile, and he had to close his business, being unable to supply the public so cheaply. As soon as the result desired by the American "Ring" in the closing of their northern rival's establishment had been effected, the Association raised the price of their articles to the former level.

Even Great Britain, it was pointed out, did not commence Free Trade until her manufactures were established. It is true, it was argued, that the United States form a large portion of the world; but Canada also is so large, and the natural increase among the people is so great, that she may fairly hope to make proportionately good progress. A larger revenue can easily be procured without inflicting hardship, and without appreciably raising taxation. She will be enabled to push such great works as the railway to the Pacific; and will possess the means for deepening the great water-ways like the St. Lawrence.

The whole question was most ably debated by the press of both sides, John Stuart Mill's and Bastiat's arguments being as well known through its agency to every voter throughout the land as are the adventures of Robinson Crusoe to the English schoolboy.

The result of the general election was a surprise even to the best friends of Sir John Macdonald and his party. It was true that they were men of exceptional popularity, and had proved their statesmanship by the manner in which, in conjunction with English statesmen, they had arranged difficult details, and conquered local prejudices which had stood in the way of a federation of the British provinces. Great as was the popularity and renown of Sir John, few expected that the result of the election would be a total rout of the (comparatively) Free Trade Reform party. The field of battle was strewn not only with their rank and file, but with the bodies of some of their most prominent leaders.

The effect of the transfer of office which followed this event was visible in the next session of Parliament, when a tariff averaging 30 per cent., as compared with the previously imposed  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., was placed upon all imported goods, while an arrangement was made which favoured, in the classification of taxation, British as against American manufactures.

The British Government said not a word. Not a single despatch was written to the Governor-General, as representing the Imperial power, in contravention of the proposals of the Canadian Government. This was a most emphatic proof that the policy originally proposed by Lord Durham, pursued by Lord Elgin, and reaffirmed by subsequent Governors, had obtained full effect, and that henceforward Canada would be left in absolute freedom to do as she thought best for herself.

It is doubtful if more than a mild remonstrance would have been addressed to the Canadian Government even if they had proposed to have differential duties acting adversely to the traders of Birmingham, Manchester, and London, and favouring those of New York and Chicago. It was felt that it was sufficient to rely upon the good sense which tells the Colonies that any such step would materially decrease that sentiment, and kinship in feeling, that inborn and almost ineradicable friendship, which binds together those living under the Union Jack.

Great Britain knows well enough that in almost every conceivable circumstance colonists would take far more of her merchandize than would the foreigner ; and the colonist on his part knows full well that if he proceeded too far, and alienated the valuable affection borne towards him, he would, in having to shift for himself, be obliged to maintain an expensive diplomatic service, and burden himself with vastly increasing costs in standing armaments both on land and sea. Even such exertions could not save him from the fate of those who have stronger neighbours desirous to extend their own territories. It would not be difficult for the United States to find pretexts by which Canada could be persuaded or forced to give up her cherished independence, at present so fully secured to her under the protection of the Empire.

But with a separate fiscal system, including nearly five million of people in its zone, came a wish that the commercial policy arising from it should be represented abroad by

those best acquainted with the opinion of the Government which was responsible for it. The tendency had been shown as long ago as 1854, when Lord Elgin as Canadian Governor, quite as much as in his capacity of British official, went to Washington to negotiate the Reciprocity Treaty then concluded with Great Britain. Sir John Maedonald, as Canadian representative, acted as one of the Commissioners sent to Washington at the time of the transactions which ended in the payment of damages by England for the depredations committed on the American commerce by the *Alabama*, a Confederate cruiser fitted out in an English port. He had also been associated with English statesmen in the conclusion of other bargains with the States.

When he assumed office in 1878, he soon began to find that he wanted openings for foreign trade with France, Spain, and the American Republic, and employed Sir Alexander Galt, a distinguished Canadian statesman and financier, to communicate his views to British Ministers. It became desirable that at the Imperial head-quarters a man of standing and high official position should be appointed Resident Minister. It did not matter what the title chosen for him should be, so long as in fact he was accepted as the Canadian Envoy. This appointment was not meant as an indication that Canada wished to institute a diplomatic service, but that she desired that the Imperial diplomatic service should have incorporated in it, for Canadian purposes, a Canadian Minister.

The Governor-General, although serving as a standing channel of communication between the two Governments, could not be at Ottawa and in London at the same time ; and in any matter requiring verbal explanation and full knowledge of the intentions and position of the Cabinet at Ottawa, it became evident that it would be most useful for the people dwelling on both sides of the Atlantic to have a Canadian resident in London, who could at all times, for the purpose of explanation and discussion, hold personal conference with the Colonial Secretary of State. Should a new policy enable the Canadians to make trade bargains with any foreigners, the Governor-General could not be employed to conduct them. He had to remain at the capital, and could not, except by despatches, indicate to the Foreign Secretary on what lines his Government thought it desirable to proceed, while verbal explanation and exposition would prevent delay.

The proposal to appoint such an officer was a new one, and it may well be imagined that among some of those accustomed to see everything transacted by Imperial officers without Colonial assistance, the innovation was looked upon as portentous of coming separation. Fortunately they who were at the head of affairs took another view. They believed that what had been found essential for all States nominally independent, was necessary for Canada with her real commercial independence.

The title of High Commissioner was at once given to Sir Alexander Galt, and he proceeded to London, where he was received with that honour which comes only



from friendship and respect. He was placed in communication with foreign courts, with whose ministers he commenced negotiations as the coadjutor of the British ambassador. Working with the assistance, co-operation, and support of the Imperial Minister, he was unfettered in his manner of conducting the business on which his country had sent him. There were no stipulations made on the part of the British officials. The Canadian Government, as a matter of course, and as necessary to the success of their wishes, placed before the Governor-General the instructions under which the envoy of his Government was acting, and he was made cognisant of all public despatches to Sir Alexander Galt as well as of those received from him. The fullest confidence was shown on both sides, for it was felt that although Canada's attitude towards the mother country was now one of alliance rather than of allegiance, that alliance was necessary, and would remain as necessary as before. Canada had only to express a desire for such a personal representation in London to have her wishes granted. It was wise to grant them.

If the interests of a Federal Union such as the Northern Dominion has now become had been left wholly in the hands of British officials, any blame attaching to failure to secure those interests would always rest on England. On the other hand, once England receives a minister representing a Colony, and recognizes that his country's interests are committed into his hand, and supports them by her influence with

foreigners, failure of any kind is visited by the Colony on its envoy, and not upon England. English failures in old days to secure what Canada wanted have been frequent and conspicuous enough. Witness the surrender of the frontier of the State of Maine, and the loss of the magnificent provinces of Oregon and Washington territory on the Pacific Ocean, through the too great complaisance of British plenipotentiaries. Such faults will not again be laid to the door of Britain if she associates with her diplomatic agents the agent of the Colony, and lets him see how she supports his contentions, and works with him and through him to further the desires of his Government.

The nomination of Sir A. Galt as High Commissioner was a new departure in the history of our Empire. It was the first step taken to constitute an Imperial machinery for negotiating all propositions affecting the Colonies — a machinery which must ultimately be composed, not only of Imperial diplomatists, but of men who represent the views of the respective Colonial Cabinets. Without their presence and counsel it is impossible that “Downing Street” can be fully informed as to the actual conditions and tendencies of politics in “the Dependencies,” or be fully aware of the best means of helping them. It is only by comparing notes that this can be done. The mother country must be in a position fully to understand the circumstances that lead to the adoption of any given line of policy advocated by any of her children, and the fuller the

comprehension the more likely is sympathy to be engendered and an agreement in main outlines preserved; the agreement being none the less cordial because the parties to it agree to differ on details.

Sir Charles Tupper, who succeeded Sir A. Galt in the important post created under the "new departure" in policy, lately spoke thus of the manner in which he viewed the question of Federation, and recognized the cordial spirit evinced in regard to his own position.

"I can only say that I would be doing wrong if on an occasion like this—referring as I do with great satisfaction to the views of the right honourable gentleman enunciated with regard to the federation of the Empire—I did not take this opportunity of saying that I am entirely with him in the desire that the mother country and the Colonies may be bound more indissolubly together than at present. I believe this matter is worthy the attention of our statesmen to devise means to draw the bonds still closer, and to render indissoluble for all the tie which now unites us. You misunderstand me if you suppose that my experience of this country has forced this conviction upon me. I would be an ingrate indeed if I did not take this opportunity of saying that since I have had the honour of holding the position of representative of Canada in London I have met with most cordial sympathy and co-operation from all members of Her Majesty's Government—from Lord Derby, from the Hon. Mr. Ashley, and from Sir Robert Herbert; and the assistant secretaries in the department have shown great anxiety on every occasion to give me aid, assistance, and co-operation, and to give a most patient attention to every Canadian interest presented for their consideration. I will say more; for they have been good enough to place me in communication, in connection with the foreign trade of Canada, with the Foreign Office, and I have met from Lord Granville, and from Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, from Mr. Kennedy, and from other gentlemen connected with the Foreign Office, the same hearty and generous responses to every proposal I have felt it my duty to submit. I may go further and say that, so far as our foreign

commerce is concerned, Lord Derby and Lord Granville at once, in the most generous spirit, responded to the desire of Canada that her representative should be charged, as plenipotentiary, with the duty and responsibility of negotiating treaties in regard to foreign powers, and they did me the higher honour of at once placing me on equal terms with the distinguished gentleman who sits here—Sir Robert Morier—in the negotiation of a treaty with Spain. You will at once see that nothing has been wanting on the part of Her Majesty's Government to give me aid and co-operation. It is said, 'But why not seek independence for yourselves?' Gentlemen, I say at once that I regard the proposal for independence as the most fatal delusion—so far as Canada is concerned—that could be presented for our consideration. At this moment, living under the ægis of this great Empire, we possess an amount of power and influence which Canada could not possibly obtain otherwise. I am not speaking mere sentiment; but I know, after spending twenty-nine years of my life consecutively in the Parliament of my own country—and I am proud to be able to say it—that no man would stand the slightest chance of securing election in any one of the Canadian constituencies—from Prince Edward Island to British Columbia—were he to advocate the disintegration of the Empire."

## CHAPTER V.

### WHAT AMOUNT OF FEDERATION NOW EXISTS?

“WHAT more do we want? We have practical Federation,” has lately been said. There are some constitutional ties besides those of sentiment and affection, and it is as well to see what these are. It will be understood that the great Colonies only are to be considered in this section, as throughout this pamphlet, for it is not material to the subject to review the varied scale of directness of the Imperial authority exercised over the smaller Colonies. Canada is the country most worth considering in this regard, for she is ahead of all others in the constitutional development of the Colonial connection. What she is to-day, Australia may soon become, when with confederation she can be considered as one Federal Power, and has, as such, written her name upon the list of the nations.

The legal ties now retained by England with her Colonies are few. First, there is the right of the Crown to nominate the Governors, who for a term of five or six years play the part of a constitutional sovereign among the people to whom they are sent, and by whom they are invariably loyally received, and treated with much con-

sideration and respect. There have been cases in which the conduct of a Governor has drawn upon himself the anger of one of the parties of his State owing to a negligence of, or a designed departure from, that impartiality which is exacted from such an officer. Very rarely during the last twenty years have such difficulties arisen. It has been observed that in general it has been more easy for a Governor to remain aloof from party contentions in the larger Colonies, where constitutional practices have been in full operation, than in the smaller communities, where the very smallness of the State has embittered controversy, and local asperities have not been calmed by the presence in the Chambers of members from places distant from the spots affected by the contention. In the larger communities, also, the extent to which the legal and moral influence of the parent land can be exercised has been more defined by usage and obvious considerations of practicability than in more contracted communities. The more a Governor has resisted the interested efforts of any one party to enlist him on their side, and the more strictly he has kept to the rule to give his confidence to the Ministry having the majority in the representative chamber, the greater has been the influence and popularity he has acquired.

Allusion has been made to the very rare cases in which laws passed by the Colonies have been reserved by Governors for the Imperial assent. It is always within the power of a Governor so to reserve any measure he may think detrimental to the connection between

England and the Colony, or harmful to the constitution : and should such cases arise, he would probably find himself supported in his action by a majority in the Colony. If he can reserve measures with the full assent of his own Ministry, the situation becomes clear of all doubt. Practical good sense rather than legal forms must govern such cases.

It is almost inconceivable that any local assembly or ministry should insist on a measure which would imperil the connection with Britain, unless indeed the Colony considered itself strong enough against foreign foes, and valued the connection with England so little as to declare for absolute independence. On the other hand, the veto by the Crown would never be exercised unless it were with the good-will of the majority in the self-governed Colony, for the Home Government would not desire to run the risk of inducing a declaration of secession from the Empire. In little Colonies, on small as well as on important questions, the procedure might be different, but all such matters must be settled much more by the Imperial and local authorities on their estimate of what is best at the time, than on any theoretical code of laws and regulations. It is notable, that even when Governors met with much opposition and ill-will, as, for example, Lord Metcalfe, who was unpopular because autocratic, and Lord Elgin, who was disliked for a brief period for the opposite reason, namely, because he would not accept any advice but that of his Ministers, the unpopularity brought no demand for the abrogation of the office,

but only led to an outcry for the dismissal of the individual. Yet the Governors are paid from the local and not from the Home treasury, and the absence of any general wish that they shall be elected is a proof of the value attached to the connecting link with the mother country afforded by their office.

With regard to the respect shown to the Governors, it is right that it should be paid to the office rather than to the man, although they who desire the overthrow of the Imperial connection are fond of making cheap fun of the position held by such an officer, and of representing it as analogous to that of a figure-head on a ship. If a figure-head could subserve the purposes of use as well as of show, and could get down from its perch and walk about the decks and give good advice to the crew, not only when the vessel is taken aback and in danger from violent winds, but could also often foretell the weather conditions better than the captain himself, because possessed of meteorological knowledge inaccessible to him, the "figure-head" analogy would be more complete. The influence with his Cabinet will vary with the Governor's individual character, but the influence of the office as representative of the powerful and loving mother land depends very little on personality.

The extent to which a Governor can make himself of use in oiling the wheels and preventing friction in the Colony's domestic affairs does largely depend on himself. The amount of power he wields as directing the relations between the Colony and the mother land must necessarily



depend more on the condition of public affairs and the temper of the two peoples than on him, and is necessarily large because he is the channel of communication of the wishes of the majority. Yet a Colony, if in possession of full self-government, as all our larger "settlements" are, will only yield to the wishes of the majority over-sea if its own interests are not traversed.

It has absolute freedom, and it lies with its Ministers to strain that freedom, if they choose to do so, to the point of separation from the mother country. Such a snapping of the love-ties would probably end, not in the enjoyment of separate freedom, but in enforced annexation to some stronger power. This they know, and the Anglo-Saxon good sense, which prevents the rush to dangerous logical conclusions, and betakes itself to reasonable compromise as the surest way of obtaining large results, tends to enhance the respect for the Governor's office, for it is to that office they must look as the oracle of the force which is their surest ally and the mainstay of their own freedom.

Words spoken by Sir John Macdonald, the Canadian Prime Minister, in February, 1885, at Montreal, are worth repeating: "We want no independence in this country, except the independence we have at this moment. What country in the world is more independent than we are? We have perfect independence, we have an Imperial Government that casts on ourselves the responsibilities as well as the privileges of self-government. We may govern ourselves as we please; we may misgovern ourselves as we please. We put a tax on the industries of our fellow-

subjects in England, Ireland, and Scotland. If we are attacked, if our shores are assailed, the mighty powers of England by land and sea are used in our defence." This is the independence and freedom guaranteed by union with the Parent State which is represented by the Governor. Hence the respect for his office.

The reservation by the Governor of local acts is a mark of the connection maintained through him. He used to be specially enjoined to reserve certain measures for Home approval, but disallowance has not been known since the union under one Federal Executive and Parliament in Canada, and it has been very sparingly exercised in the case of other Colonies.

It is as a sign to the outer world that union exists that the power of nomination to governorships should be desired by the mother country. Some critics in the Colonies believe that the wish exists for the sake of the patronage. Fortunately English politics have not sunk so low that the maxim of "the spoils to the victors" is used for preferment of partizans to the greatest offices which are at the disposal of the Crown, and are connected with Imperial affairs. When this becomes the case, it will be time for the Colonies to insist on a voice in the nomination, however limited may be the power they allow to the Governor.

But that such posts are not mere rewards for party service may be proved from the instance of Lord Mayo, who was appointed during the last days of a Tory Government, and the cry among some "Liberal" partizans for his recall was not listened to for a moment by the Liberal

Government, who, on the contrary, supported him loyally. Lord Beaconsfield, again, in 1878, offered the Governor-Generalship of Canada to a man in the ranks of the Liberal Party.

Even in earlier times, the nomination was not valued for the sake of patronage. "Such patronage," as it has been well said,<sup>1</sup> "can only be looked upon as a source of difficulty and anxiety. The welfare of every Colony, and the alternative of success or failure in administering its affairs, are so mainly dependent upon the choice of a Governor, that it is incredible that any Secretary of State, even if he were insensible to all higher motives than a regard for his own interest and reputation, would willingly be guided in his selection by any consideration except that of the qualifications of the individual preferred. As the importance of the interests committed to the charge of any individual appointed Governor in a great Colony increases, these motives are brought more and more into play, for the failure of a nominee reacts on the Government which has nominated him."

Should any contrary motives be shown, it is always in the power of the Colony, which pays the salary of the Governor, to make its veto on any bad nomination effectual.

As an Imperial officer, who is at the same time the head of the Colonial State, the Governor's hand should be felt in public affairs. He must act through a Ministry responsible to the country, but this need not make his

<sup>1</sup> Lord Grey.

connection with important events less real. He is intimately acquainted with the views of the authorities at Home, who represent the people upon whom falls so much of the expense of protecting the younger country, and on whom she must rely for the effectual support of her interests. The Governor should also in his person be fit to embody worthily that idea which calls the English Sovereign "the fountain of honour." He represents the stability, the authority, the dignity derived from long centuries of Empire. He should be able to bring to bear upon the tendency of party conflicts, as well as on the general drift of the Colonies' policy, the influence derived from his position as an impartial friend, having experience won in other and more critical fields of action. He is the representative of the mother country possessing the model constitution after which the new Free State intends to shape itself. He is the sign of the continuity of national life which the Colony is destined to illustrate and expand.

A singular, and by no means fortunate, survival of the individual power formerly confided to the Governor is visible in the responsibility that still personally attaches to him as an Imperial officer in ordering the arrest of any vessel which may be fitting out for a piratical expedition, or for a raid on the territory of a belligerent with whom Britain is at peace. This legal power has been rather overlooked than maintained with design, for no machinery remains in the Governor's hands for carrying it out where a responsible Govern-

ment exists. The Governor would, where his Ministry refused to carry out his wishes, have no one to obey him save the officers of his personal staff, who could hardly be expected to do marine or other police duty.

The assumption that the Governor must act individually as an Imperial officer is a curious anomaly in these days, and is a vestige of his former powers when he was in truth as well as in name Commander-in-chief and Admiral; and the Admiralty or Marine Courts, taking cognizance of occurrences affecting ocean navigation, were more directly under his charge.

All is changed now, for the Colonies pay the judges of the Admiralty Courts, and there is not a man placed unreservedly under the personal command of the Governor. Yet because the Imperial Treasury has hitherto consented to defray the costs resulting from damages for illegal detention of vessels against which any accusation leading to their arrest has failed, the Governor is held responsible. If a new *Alabama* is suspected as fitting out in a Canadian port, the Governor-General would be supposed to be responsible for her arrest or escape. If she were arrested, and an Admiralty Court in Canada found her guiltless of evil intention, the costs of the damages for detention payable to her owners would be paid by England, although it might be proved that the mistake in considering her guilty and ordering her arrest was made on the representation of the Canadian Ministry.

There is much to be said for ensuring that arrest shall

immediately follow suspicion in cases where such terrible harm may arise from neglect. Hesitation to arrest may arise from fear on the part of the Colonial authorities of burdening their Treasury if they are cast in damages in the "Admiralty" Courts. But if the argument for the retention of the present responsibility in the Governors counterbalance the arguments for asking the Colony to pay some portion of the damage money claimed on account of its participation in the arrest, the Governor should be furnished with men bound to obey his individual orders, so that the arrest may be instantaneously effected without the necessity of consultation with the Colonial Ministry. As this would be very difficult, or almost impossible, it would seem best that the Colony should be responsible through its Ministry, and that no individual responsibility attach to the Governor, whose position, unless he gets the Colonial Ministry to order men to effect the arrest, is a helpless one. The liability to pay half or some proportion of the costs of a mistaken arrest would not influence wrongly any Colonial Ministry, but would ensure care in the recommendation of such arrest.

The Colonies are fully as much interested as is the mother country in the observation of the international laws relating to neutrals, for they would have to pay in warlike preparations for any war arising out of their negligence in allowing arms, ammunition, or a vessel, to be conveyed to a belligerent. They would not abate their vigilance for the small evil of being cast in partial

damages for mistaken arrests, for over-suspicion may bring small charges, while any laxity may cost them millions.

The only true course is to make each and every act performed by a Governor-General in Canada an act for which his Ministers are responsible, and to rely on the sense of the Colonial public to punish their government if they be in the wrong. Imperial interests are there best guarded by Colonial responsibility. As in the other Colonies the conditions approach those in force in Canada, the same rule must be applied. The greater the opportunity to apply it, the safer will the interests of all concerned become, and the firmer the Imperial union.

Another and highly valued connection is zealously maintained by the Colonies, in the power of appeal to the British Privy Council from the decision of their own Courts. Appeals are not made in criminal cases, for they are decided by appeal to the Minister of Justice, but for all civil suits an appeal from the decisions of the Supreme Court at Ottawa lies to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, whose judgment sometimes reverses that of the Canadian courts both provincial and "supreme," and is accepted as the ultimate and abiding settlement of the question. To a stranger it is curious to observe how the best lawyers, and the most patriotic among the Canadians, are, for the present, at all events, anxious to keep this appeal to the tribunal at Westminster. They can by such proceeding obtain the opinion of a body having in its members the ablest lawyers of Britain, whose judgment must

necessarily be absolutely impartial, and carries at this moment greater weight in the minds of the Canadians than do their own civil courts. It is the same with Australians, and a change will only come when Supreme Courts in the Colonies are composed of men who are without rivals in ability and reputation among their countrymen, and when it is no longer believed that the judgment of an inferior provincial court carries as sound an opinion as does the confirmation or reversal of it by a higher Federal tribunal.

At present this has not been attained in the case of the Canadian Supreme Court, eminent as are the lawyers on its Bench ; and the great merit and ability of many of the provincial judges make it difficult to constitute any tribunal whose decisions would be held to justify an interpretation of the law which might be adverse to their interpretation. The complexity also of the state of things arising from a Federal union where certain powers are reserved to the Provinces, and others are assigned to the Central Government, often give rise to difficult points of law.

The Canadian Constitution dates only from 1867, and the institution of a Supreme Court only from 1876, so that it is not surprising that doubtful cases of constitutional law are carried to a Court whose decisions are, if not unimpeachable, certainly of an authority which can be acquired only with time and the highest reputation. In the United States a Supreme Court has been constituted which fully satisfies the national demand for probity



and wisdom, and commands an authority and respect unquestioned and unrivalled ; but Canada prefers to continue to submit her difficult cases in law to a judgment carrying even greater weight, and which is as much her own as it is England's.

Mr. Todd, a great writer on constitutional practice, and a gentleman whose reputation as its best exponent in the Colonies is universally acknowledged, wrote as justly of this as of all the subjects of which he treated. "The appellate jurisdiction of the Queen in Council is retained for the benefit of the Colonies, not for that of the mother country. It secures to every British subject a right to claim redress of grievances from the Throne. It provides a remedy in certain cases not falling within the jurisdiction of ordinary courts of justice ; it removes causes from the influence of local prepossessions ; it affords the means of maintaining the uniformity of the law of England in those Colonies which derive the great body of their law from Great Britain ; and it enables suitors, if they think fit, to obtain a decision in the last resort from the highest judicial authority and legal capacity existing in the metropolis.

"It is true that in a Colony which possesses an efficient Court of Appeal, it may be seldom necessary to have recourse to this supreme tribunal. Nevertheless its controlling power, though dormant and rarely invoked, is felt by every judge in the Empire, because he knows that his decisions are liable to be submitted to it. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that British

colonists have uniformly exhibited a strong desire not to part with the right of appeal from Colonial courts to the Queen and Council.

“Since the establishing of responsible government in the principal British Colonies, the supreme interpretation and application of the law upon appeal to the mother country has become almost the sole remaining instance of a power exercised through the Crown over the self-governing dependencies of the realm. But even in the Colonies which have been entrusted with the largest measure of self-government, the right of appeal to the Privy Council continues to be regarded with the greatest respect and appreciation.”

Indeed the more serious the question, and the more involved the several opposing sections of the people have become in the cause to be determined, the more readily do all parties submit to the judgment they seek from “Home,” as represented by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Delicate questions of provincial rights, contentions between rival provinces to great areas of land, the interpretation of almost fundamental constitutional relations, are all placed before this highest Court, to whose decisions every citizen unhesitatingly bows.

The respect for the judgment of the highest authorities of impartial law has been also extended to the greatest authorities on another subject, in a matter also unconnected with any party politics, namely, armed defence.

The Colonies, with adequate preparation for the education of officers, must be expected to demand that the ap-

pointment to ordinary military positions carrying emoluments paid from Colonial Treasuries, shall be kept wholly in the hands of Colonial authorities. It is much to be desired, however, that for the supreme commands, they only who have gone through the mill of actual campaigning, and have been brought up in the great school of the regular service, and have had the experience of warfare which is only to be obtained with Imperial forces, so constantly engaged in active work in one corner or another of the world, shall be appointed. It is essential that the command and power of directing movements, and the disposition of troops, Imperial and Colonial, be under one central control. It matters not whether the man so appointed be English, Australian, or Canadian, so long as he has had experience of campaigning, and has made a name for himself as a leader of men. None other may so well make any levies committed to his charge trust him, respect him, and submit to any discipline and privation in order to follow where he commands. This can never be the case if any Government is swayed by other than purely military considerations. If at any time mere political influence dominated the selection of such appointments, the efficiency and cohesion of the forces would be lost, and the excellence of the individuals composing them neutralized.

To select men to commands who may be acceptable to political parties because their influence can carry a certain number of votes in a political battle, would be a most mistaken action. Instead of rendering Colonial

governments more independent, it would narrow their area of choice of men to those few persons who might happen, it may be, to have seen service, but have afterwards rusted in rural life, and whose only claim to military respect and authority might be comprised in the sentiment, "he is one of us."

If, through the over-zeal of a martinet, or want of tact or lack of sympathy with the Colonial troops, any experienced officer were not to succeed in obtaining the confidence of the Colonists, he should be changed; but he should not be changed because he is not himself a Colonist. Another officer should be demanded, and selected by the Imperial authorities, with the concurrence of the Colonial Government, who may better suit the local temperament, and who would not have the fatal disqualification of being too old, too long unused to arms, or too inexperienced in the active work of campaigning to be known as a thoroughly worthy commander.

Party pressure is often one of the miseries of ministerial existence. It is by no means exerted only for the country's good, and where personal merits and demerits are concerned, and fitness for a special place ought to be considered, it is often wholly blind and unscrupulous.

No State escapes from it. Some are more helpless under it than others. It invades justice, and sacrifices liberty in many. Patriotism cannot banish its baneful oppression, which is fond of appearing in the disguise of friendship, of generosity, or of a love for native merit. Happy is that Government which can place beyond the

pale of its influence the courts of law and the military guardianship of the land ; and can exercise, unfettered by the politics of the hour, the patronage which may ruin or save the Commonwealth.

Certainly those States are to be envied which, through their alliance with another, greater, older, and stronger than themselves, have at their command against such evil influences the bulwark of appeal to the mother land. The Colonies have shown that they appreciate this refuge for their ministers ; and no phrase is more often heard among them than this : " We know the value of Britain as *amicus curiæ*."

England is willing to act as a friend between Colonial disputants, and to settle their differences if they ask her to do so, to act as arbitress, and to loose the knotty points of law. But it is only when such offices are demanded of her that she can usefully become mediator, for she has no cause or wish to interfere where she is not invited to pronounce an opinion. Certain things should be left to her to decide owing to her benevolent co-operation, and one of these has been the right to express decidedly her view that confusion in the command of armies is ruinous, and that where there is a common obligation of defence, there should be agreement that there can be only one source for the designation to the supreme military command.

The advantage of the reference to the Home authorities for their opinion on difficult or doubtful matters is so fully seen that it has been advocated by Colonial govern-

ments in cases where it was not expected. An instance, and a very remarkable one, occurred in 1879 in Canada, when a new House of Commons reversed the decision of a previous Parliament, and decided to ask for the dismissal from his office of a Lieutenant-Governor, who had demanded the resignation of a local government, and had found in the leader of the Provincial opposition a new Minister willing to take the responsibility of the act, and to carry on the new government with a majority of one only in the local assembly. The Lieutenant-Governor's act had been legal, but was not conceived in the spirit of modern constitutional usage. When the House of Commons voted for his dismissal, points were raised involving conflicting interpretations of the Canadian constitution, and the Governor-General did not consider that it conduced to the best interests of the country that the Ministry should give effect to the vote of their supporters in the Commons House. They desired, however, to do so; but rather than have any contention with the Governor-General, they suggested that the *amicus curiæ* be called in, and that the opinion of the Secretary of State be asked. They thus showed a desire to obtain the approval of an impartial opinion; but the Secretary of State wisely declined to do more than indicate the reasons against the contemplated procedure, leaving the whole responsibility of an interpretation of the Canadian Confederation Act, which further defined a Federal Power, to the Government concerned. The officer around whom so much controversy had raged was deprived of his office,

and it is unlikely that any future Lieutenant-Governor will again act as did M. Letellier, unless he can be quite certain that the party he belongs to in the Federal Parliament will remain in office.

It will be seen that the existing ties between England and the Colonies are valued because valuable to the new countries. They may be employed for calming passion and settling difficult questions. They may be retained or relinquished, for freedom governs the relations between the countries. But they are signs and proofs of that real community of interests which underlie the sentiments of kinship, and pride in a common heritage.

During this reign one other tie has been especially regarded with reverence and affection, and it is that which enables all citizens of this Empire to call themselves the subjects of the Queen. Her name has acquired a magic force, the strength of which can only be realized by those who have heard the National Anthem sung by men, women, and children in regions many thousands of miles distant from England. It matters not where it be heard, for in whatever part of the world her standard flies, that strain of music, and the thoughts which come with it, make the voices ring with the true loyalty that reverences woman and loves the glorious sovereignty of freedom. The fervour to be heard in such notes should count for something in the calculation men are making as to the chance of keeping shoulder to shoulder wherever British hearts are beating.

## CHAPTER VI.

### COMMERCE AND ITS PROTECTION.

IN looking at Imperial Federation, the place occupied by India in the Empire has purposely been left undiscussed, for she is not self-governed, and does not direct her own fiscal policy. Her influence and weight is none the less felt that she is governed by Englishmen as desirous of pressing onward her commerce as if a native government held the reins. In regard to that greatest and grandest of our possessions, which we won through the enterprise of our merchants and the valour of our soldiers, we have elaborated so complete a system of rule that, much as we should desire that the people among her varied nationalities, should gradually take upon themselves more and more a part in local affairs, we could never, without surrendering them to intestine wars and the periodic revelry of anarchy and despotism, abandon the standpoint we have adopted as the persevering benefactor and the permanent conqueror of her wonderful territories.

The mere jealousies among her princes and the balanced position they must occupy as regards each other (now maintained amongst them through the peace which is enforced by our sword), tend to make any representation



of her vast numbers an impossibility in a central assembly. In the English sense, she cannot be governed by her people for her people.

Individuals among them possess much power, and have been raised by us to great dignity. We shall more and more open to distinguished natives a line of legitimate, useful, and peaceful ambition, which is for their good, and necessary for the permanence of that British rule among them which has conferred benefits beside which the most beneficent acts of such rulers as the Great Mogul sink into absolute insignificance.

It is in climates and countries where the white man may thrive and multiply, and where our race has been proved to be able to uphold its own through the vigour of its progeny born upon the soil, that we must look for the strongest elements of Empire, and it is only at the Cape of Good Hope, in British North America, and in Australasia that we find these conditions realized. The Cape has so fertile a soil and so excellent a climate, and is so favourable as a coaling station, that although its progress has been slower than its brethren, we may expect it to be fourth only in importance to ourselves.

Expensive and bloody as have been the wars with its aborigines (Kaffir, Hottentot, and Zulu), these conflicts have led to surveys which have proved that an enormous area, stretching up to the north of the Transvaal, is marvellously rich in pasture lands, capable of the cultivation of corn and sugar, and productive to a wondrous degree of gold and precious gems.

The early colonists of the mixed blood of English, Dutch, French, and German, and known by the name of the Boers, are a people whose physical powers bear eloquent testimony to the healthiness of the countries known as the Transvaal and Orange Free State. We ourselves have found Natal so healthy and so adapted for the settler that towns like Durban have within the last few years acquired a population of seven or eight thousand. With great tracts of land, of hill and of grassy plain, peopled with a mixture of English and Dutch, the Cape of Good Hope is steadily increasing its resources, and is slowly attracting emigration.

Australia has along the whole of the enormous extent of its southern coast-line a climate which, although warm, has proved itself to be capable of maintaining our race in full vigour. Its vast interior, often supposed to be only a desert, with a fertile rim around it, is alleged to contain spaces which will provide healthy homes for men of white blood. Its mineral treasures, first discovered by Count Streletzki, are apparently endless. The New South Wales coalfields, of far greater area than the British, seem inexhaustible.

Coal, gold, corn, wool, and wine; wood, wheat, and fish, are the chief features of the commerce furnished to the world by our Southern and by our Northern possessions. Meat for the inner and diamonds for the outer man must be added to the list, which may be fully studied in the statistical tables of almanacs, and is indicated briefly at the end of this essay. Most of the

great territories have vast areas adapted to agriculture or pasture. Whenever this is not the case the colonist will tell you that all the rest of the country is unrivalled for its mineral resources, and certainly there is no lack of variety and plenty of the produce of the mine. Every precious ore, with the exception of mercury, has already been largely worked, and the memory must be racked to find what the Colonies do not possess in variety of climate and product. The mere outlines of the increase in Australasian wealth are astonishing, for during the last ten years the population have increased 42 per cent., commerce 47 per cent., wool production 70 per cent., acres under cultivation 120 per cent., railways 431 per cent., telegraphs 190 per cent., revenue 123 per cent.

These are the figures given from official returns, and further we also find that the annual revenues of the several Governments have increased from nine millions to nearly 22 millions sterling, being an average of £7 13s. 6d. per head of population. The live stock now consists of 76,493,150 sheep, 8,429,448 cattle, 1,219,342 horses, and 807,711 pigs. The land under cultivation increased from 3,165,000 acres to nearly 7,000,000 acres, and the total acreage now under crop gives an average of 2.45 acres per head of population.

During the same period the tonnage of shipping entered and cleared at all the ports in Australasia increased from 4,517,028 tons to 10,866,859 tons. Steamships of from four to five thousand tons burthen are now engaged in the carrying trade. The yearly value of

Colonial produce and manufactures exported annually is estimated at 51 millions sterling.

The deposits in the Colonial Banks of Issue, on the 30th September, 1882, amounted to £66,471,922, giving a larger amount per head of population than is shown in Great Britain.

In 1828 the trade between the Australian Colonies, England, and foreign States amounted to £114,477,694, or an average of £39 16s. 7d. per head of population, of which the sum of £22 4s. 3d. was for imports, and £17 12s. 4d. for exports. Fiji in 1882 had a trade amounting to £493,846, being £303,329 for imports, and £190,517 for exports.

The expenditure of the several Colonies in 1882 amounted to £10,056,823, against revenue to the amount of £22,064,108, being a surplus of £2,007,285 for 1882.<sup>1</sup>

When it is remembered that the whole of the Canadian Federal Revenue only amounts to a little over 30,000,000 of dollars, it will be seen how rich is Australasia. Her cities are also very large in proportion to the number of her people, for Sydney and Melbourne have nearly twice as many people as has Montreal, the largest of the Canadian cities, although the total population of British North America is five millions, as against Australia's three millions. All the Colonies take more of English than of foreign manufactures, and a great

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

increase in the international trade is certain to arise during the next few years.

We may estimate the wholly different circumstances now attendant on the position of the parent country as compared with that of her children from the fact that we have become a country whose exports preponderate enormously over our imports—that is to say, we have been successful in forming our trade lines of travel, which extend to almost every land, and bring us into touch with all the world whether for good or evil. Our Colonies, on the other hand, have hardly begun to feel their way to the world-markets, and have a comparatively small commerce as compared with ours. It is but yesterday that Australia began to trade with San Francisco.

It is only since 1849 that San Francisco itself existed, and its trade connection by means of the Trans-continental Railway to New York, with the eastern half of the United States, is much younger. Australia's trade with us is still a dominant feature of her activity, but we can hardly expect this to continue when the American continent possesses, as it must soon possess, more than three times the number of souls now living upon these isles. Then will Australia have a still more separate commercial policy to protect and defend than she has at present. As yet she has had hardly any foreign policy because she has hardly any foreign trade.

With Canada, in the same way, with the exception of a comparatively paltry commerce in fish with Portugal and

the Mediterranean and South America, there has been little commerce with any foreign country except the United States, and her whole anxiety with reference to foreigners has been expressed in her wish for treaties giving her reciprocal relations such as that concluded with her neighbours by the Treaty of Washington, negotiated in 1854. Now, as her trade extends, the convenience of commercial arrangements with her great neighbour will be still more desired, and her relations with other nations have led to the offer of reductions in her duties on French and Spanish merchandize.

Still, however, it must be many years before the trade of these new countries assumes anything like the importance of the commerce carried on by our own 35,000,000 of people at home. Naturally as the circumstances of the amount of trade interests become more alike, we must make up our minds to accentuate, rather than annul, any differences arising from separate trade policies. But the recognition of these differences in fiscal policy can only lead to disintegration of the Empire if the Imperial machinery, devised to push the interests of each portion of our Federation, fail. As each partner in our firm becomes more wealthy the credit of the house (to use a mercantile simile) is increased, and a greater power is acquired to conduct in union any operation important to all, the beneficial results of which shall be felt in the improvement of the position of one or several, or of each, of the members of the Federation.

It is remarkable with what very different eyes the

various Australian colonies have regarded the question of "Protection" by tariff. New South Wales and Victoria, the two most important communities, have been the leaders in the exposition of opposing economical views of policy. Victoria has been most conspicuous amongst those favouring what the Canadians would call a "higher revenue tariff," whereas New South Wales, trusting to the immense demand for coal, and relying upon the fiscal system based largely after the English model, is still looked upon with loving eyes by the members of the Cobden Club, as reproducing in a young colony the ideas prevalent in the parent land. Prophecies are proverbially unsafe, but it is extremely doubtful whether New South Wales will not follow her sisters' rather than our own example.

Each Colony insists on maintaining a separate customs and excise line, and on unpacking the portmanteaus of their brethren on the borders of each State, and it is only during the last twelve months that there has been any common action tending to establish among them some cohesion and co-operation for defence. This has been brought about by the threatening attitude assumed by France and Germany. France, desirous of distracting the attention of her people from a war of revenge, and from any fresh attempt to hurl the armies of the Republic against the guarded frontiers and gigantic fortresses of her German conqueror in the war of 1870, has plunged into quarrels involving expeditions in Tonquin, and has exhibited a desire to make her influence

felt in the Mediterranean and other places, notably in the desire to use and annex as convict establishments some of the fair island groups in the Pacific.

Australians are naturally aghast at the prospect of having so-called French "Recidivists," or criminals, placed upon islands where guardianship is difficult and not carefully maintained, and where prisons may easily be broken. An escape successfully effected by the malefactors could only result in their landing upon the shores of Australia, for her coasts of New South Wales and Queensland offer the nearest refuge. In their protests against the dreaded incursion thus threatened they have been unanimous.

Again, their ambition has always pointed in the direction of the annexation of the great island of New Guinea, which, although lying in a hot climate, is yet coveted for the enormous natural wealth supposed to exist hidden beneath its tangled jungles. Expeditions to ascertain its resources have made reports tending yet further to make men believe that its settlement for civilization and the extraction of its riches would well repay the cost; but complete exploration has been baffled by the hostility of the natives.

Germany in this case has been the European power which has aroused the susceptibilities of our kindred. Desirous that no European nation other than the British should have a frontier practically conterminous with the regions under the sway of her governments, Australia's suspicions have been for some time directed to the acqui-



sition of property by German merchants, who have, as they have obtained a footing, attracted the attention of Prince Bismarck and won him over to a policy of annexation and colonization. Germany's young men have hitherto been content to flock in vast numbers from the Fatherland, and to make themselves thoroughly at home under the stars and stripes, while the Reichstag has regarded as an extra and probably useless expense the possession of colonies. Germans have been slow to form any colonies, apparently preferring the greater freedom to be found in the Anglo-Saxon commonwealths to the extension of the military empire they have served at home. But the example shown by the Dutch, who have made Java pay a large revenue, and the wish to show the power of the Fatherland in protecting the interests of its traders in New Guinea, in South Africa, and in Samoa in the Pacific, have induced the German Chancellor to countenance the hoisting of the red-white-and-black banner on several spots coveted by trade houses of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck.

Australia has hitherto, with reference to intercolonial trade, only been able to carry on a commerce with Canada through the United States, whose tariff is almost prohibitory of any dealing, and bonded goods have not to any great extent found their way between the two great Colonies.

Now that the Canadian Pacific Railway approaches completion (and we are assured that it will be opened for goods traffic this year), Canada will become one of

Australia's customers, and there will be a reciprocal commerce.

It has been assumed that much of the Asian trade to England will pass over the new line, and it may be so; but the experience of the American lines is that only a very small percentage of Asian traffic passes over the "Union and Central Railroad" for a European destination, and that the large imports from Australia are all for American consumption. Already New South Wales coal, and the mighty "lumber" got from the jarrah and other Eucalypti, vie with the timber of Oregon and the coal of the Canadian Pacific mines of Nanamio (on Vancouver's Island) in supplying the wants of San Francisco.

When it is remembered that that great city, like the Australian cities, has sprung into existence during the last forty years, it is difficult to estimate the amount of commerce which another century will see established between them. It is probable that the goods destined for Europe will continue to be sent from Australia by the Suez Canal, for the breaking of bulk in transshipment from vessel to railway is a disadvantage which can only be compensated by a very great shortening of the route. Australia will therefore have the same interest which England has in securing her influence along the highways between India and Europe, as well as maintaining a predominance in the seas which lie between her and that country. Canada having now extended her territories to the Pacific, and having important interests which can only adequately be defended by naval as well as land

forces on the Atlantic, is with Australia and the Cape Government liable to common misfortunes in the event of a war between England and a powerful adversary, being largely dependent on the safe carriage of ocean freights. England has hitherto undertaken all naval defence, but she has indicated that the Colonies must assist the troops she is willing to send them for land service with strong Provincial levies of well-trained men. On these the Colonies, when the mother country is seriously pressed, might have to place their sole reliance.

It is obvious that, with regard to the general question of defence, it would be best to provide for the thorough and complete protection of each country by its own local forces in the first instance, and that any charge for general defensive operations be restricted in the meantime to contributions for naval purposes. This does not exclude us from taking our share in military operations, should the Colonies be involved in difficulties consequent upon their connection with us. Our connection with them involves mutual effort to ward off danger at any point, and as yet there has been no shrinking from responsibilities involved.

A brief mention should not be omitted of the forces maintained by the various governments. These consist, as a rule, of militia and ill-trained levies. Their want of training is in some measure compensated for by the individual intelligence of the men. It is very unusual that any annual training is enforced which can really make the troops worthy of their metal. Any operations carried out

in the most favourable season of the year, and bringing together from civil life men who may be drilled only for ten days, a fortnight, or three weeks, are too apt to assume a complexion more characteristic of a pleasant picnic than of stern military work and practice. The officers also, although full of zeal, have often not had the opportunity of handling bodies of men, and are incapable from a mere study of the drill book, however conscientiously carried out, to thoroughly supervise and direct movements in the field. If men can only be trained for a few days during each year, on account of the expense entailed, it is doubly incumbent on the authorities in power to make those days useful to the country, in giving the best instructors to troops who eagerly and intelligently learn all that is taught them. As a rule it has been too often only from the staff of superior officers that good instruction could be obtained, for the officers of high rank are generally veterans of the Imperial army. Schools for the regimental and non-commissioned officers are urgently needed, and are being in part supplied.

It would not be difficult for Australia, out of her three millions of people, to place with scarcely an effort thirty or forty thousand good troops in the field; but when the term "good" is used it must be understood that a thorough training under competent officers must first be provided to make their excellence felt on any field of action. For the defence of harbour works and garrisons, and generally for the purposes of defence, likely to be required on account of any invasion of their ports by hostile

squadrons, no anxiety as to their qualifications need be felt. The most praiseworthy spirit has been shown in willingness to spend their money in the employment of good officers trained in England. Torpedo defences, and even a small marine, are being provided.

It is, however, doubtful whether it will not be wiser for Australia to ask that the naval defence should be undertaken by the Imperial navy, at all events for the present. An arrangement could be arrived at by which some proportion of the cost of the ships might be defrayed from local sources if the vessels be demanded for local protection. In New Zealand there are, perhaps, more Colonial soldiers who have seen service, and who have undergone a thorough training, than in any other of our possessions, for the wars with the Maories have been largely participated in by New Zealanders, and when the British troops retired it was necessary for them to keep up the volunteer militia forces, so as to be able to cope with the formidable natives. Systematic military training schools and colleges are, however, lacking at the antipodes.

The Cape Government only contributed about £6,000 sterling towards the expenses of the last Zulu war, which cost the Home Government £5,000,000, although a very large expenditure was incurred by them to assist in defraying the expenses of previous conflicts waged against the natives. Good forces of cavalry and mounted riflemen have been levied as Provincial troops in South Africa, but here again permanence of training is lacking, and we have to go to Canada to see the beginning of a sounder and

more permanent military system. Her government has power to call out all the able-bodied men in the country from eighteen to forty-five years of age, but this has never been done, and it is to be hoped never will be.

The so-called "sedentary militia" exists only on paper. The active militia is nominally of a strength of 40,000 men, but these have never been called out together during any single year. If we look at the past history of the force, they have, assisted by British troops, or when acting alone, repeatedly shown the stuff of which they are made, and were victorious in many conflicts during the last war with America. But it is not on these historical reminiscences, but on the actual system now prevalent that we must dwell. Of the excellence of material and the spirit of the men it is impossible to speak too highly. When the Fenian raids were made in 1867 and 1872 volunteers sprang to the ranks so quickly that each battalion might have been double-manned in twenty-four hours, and not forty thousand but two hundred or three hundred thousand men might have been called together.

Practically the annual trainings, occurring as they happily have occurred during times of profound peace, have rarely seen over twenty-five thousand men in arms. Divided into different military districts, each section has its adjutant-general and staff. Two hundred and fifty men are considered adequate to represent a battalion in peace, and much time and money are given by the patriotic gentlemen who have hitherto accepted commands.

Many officers of regulars had settled in Canada,

when British regulars garrisoned it, and after the Imperial troops retired, the country was well sprinkled with these. Many non-commissioned officers whose time of service had expired joined the militia as instructors. From these the Canadians were fairly well furnished for a time with leaders of the rank and file, but the old soldiers died out, and there was little provision made to fill the gaps, until under Mr. Mackenzie's government two batteries of artillery were embodied as training schools, both for infantry and artillery, at Quebec and at Kingston. At the same time a first-rate college for the instruction of officers was established. It was provided with excellent military professors, and a four years' thorough course of study of the profession of arms was imparted to the cadets, as at the great Imperial establishments of Sandhurst and Woolwich. Continued under Sir John Macdonald's government, this institution has now received the sanction of two administrations, and the worth of its teaching has been recognized by the concession to the young officers trained there of four commissions annually in the Imperial army. The War Office authorities have declared that the gentlemen who have accepted these commissions are in all respects as well trained as are those from the older establishments in England. Though the militia force cannot absorb all the cadets who leave, yet the education is by no means lost if they follow, as most of them do, professions in civil life.

Civil engineering with other subjects as useful in civil life are taught, and the cadet from the Royal Military

College of Kingston, should he not obtain a commission in the Imperial army or Canadian forces, only finds himself in a similar position to the United States cadet, who may leave the West Point Academy, and may be unable to find a berth in the small army of twenty-five thousand men which the United States thinks sufficient in time of peace to form the regular army of the Federal executive.

Military students from the Canadian Institution also often proceed to take up appointments in civil life in the United States, a course not to be deplored, for in the event of trouble they would rally to their own country, just as the old West Point cadets rallied respectively in the Civil War to the standard of their States, whether these belonged to the North, or to the Southern Confederacy.

It is obvious that Kingston cannot give all that is required to supply the militia with battalion and non-commissioned officers, and in 1884 it was determined to provide another regular battery in British Columbia, and to institute infantry training schools, each having a company of regulars, or, as it was preferred to call them, "embodied militia," at Toronto, St. John's near Montreal, and St. John's New Brunswick. If gentlemen who have obtained certificates from these schools be alone allowed to bear commissions, and if similar steps be taken with regard to non-commissioned officers, the leaders of the Canadian militia will be worthy of the soldier-like qualities conspicuous in the rank and file.

For naval defence, unfortunately, very little has been done. No contribution is given to the Imperial navy for



guarding the Fisheries, a tedious work requiring constant tact and vigilance, nor has there as yet been any proper provision made for the organization of torpedo corps for instruction in submarine mining, which, in case of trouble, would be of the utmost use in defending harbours in the long lake and sea frontier.

Looking at Imperial defence as a means of protecting Imperial commerce, the want most apparent is training for Provincial troops. There is excellent material always present, but the non-commissioned officer is often no more instructed than his men.

The example of Canada in founding Kingston College should be followed throughout the Colonies, and a greater number of days should be given to the training of troops. Thirty days in every two years is better than a fortnight annually. Heavier expenses are not so much demanded as a proper bestowal of the money now voted by the Colonial Parliaments.

## CHAPTER VII.

### RECENT MANIFESTATIONS OF SPIRIT OF UNION.

THE recent manifestations of a spirit which makes men exclaim, "Why, Federation exists already if it means union against a foreign power!" have been very remarkable, but they have not been exhibited for the first time. In all our old wars, in those against the French, as well as in troubles of a more internecine character, our Colonies have always proved themselves willing to stand with us.

It was perhaps natural that, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, New Englanders should assault with the British soldiers the fortifications of Louisburg, and that the "Provincials" under Washington should rally to the attack of the strong places designed by the kings of France to form a cordon stretching from New France and Acadia to the Mississippi and Louisiana. These were fetters for the limbs of the Anglo-Saxon Colonies, and it was to be expected they should strike at them.

But the heroic devotion shown by the scattered loyalists in Upper and Lower Canada and in the seaboard provinces when the terrible threat of an invasion from

the south was actually carried into execution in 1813, was most remarkable. There was no flinching, and almost to their own astonishment victory crowned their bravery on several well-fought fields. And since those sad but glorious days, the same spirit has been consistently shown. Volunteering to take part in the Crimean War was briskly carried on in 1854.

Australia also, vulnerable as her coastline is to hostile cruisers, has never for one instant displayed any feeling but that of eagerness to defend herself as a part of the Empire, and a readiness to play her part in any storm of war.

During the American civil conflict in 1861 the so-called "Trent outrage" occurred, and the two Southern commissioners were taken by the Northerners from a vessel flying the British flag. Then, in the Laureate's words, "the shadow of war moved like eclipse," darkening the relations between ourselves and the Americans, and caused the prompt despatch of Guards and other troops to Canada, in view of a possible march upon that country. The Canadians showed on that occasion, although it opened out to them the fearful prospect of their country becoming the theatre of action, no disposition to turn from the peril; but they armed themselves, and welcomed with enthusiasm the men sent to aid in their defence.

There has, indeed, hardly been a single occasion of probable war that has not called forth eager expressions of martial and patriotic spirit and desire to share in the peril and glory of the old country.

The offers lately made to send troops for active service in the Soudan have, however, this special feature—the homes of the people volunteering to aid the British forces are in no way menaced by the results of the campaign which has been the immediate cause of the offers made.

No man can say that Canada has a selfish interest of any kind in the prosecution of this war. Australia, on the other hand, has very direct interests in the influence we possess in Egypt in connection with the Suez Canal, through which so much of her own commerce passes.

Taking this into account, the fact yet remains that this war represents almost the extreme case where, selfish interests being hardly touched, the offer for active service on the part of the great Colonies may be held to demonstrate that they feel it to be patriotic and right that they should share in the burdens as well as in the privileges of the great Empire of which they constitute so important a part. In our crowned democracies, as with us in England, it is more often the people who take the initiative than their Governments, and the official voice speaks only after the spontaneous cry has arisen from the masses.

It can hardly be said, however, that on this occasion the Governments were behindhand, for scarcely was the note of sorrow for the fall of Khartoum and the death of Gordon heard, than there came from Australia the words: "We offer a contingent; men, horses, and guns are ready to start, and we desire to pay the cost." It would almost seem that among the great services ren-

dered to his country and to all with whom he came in contact, the heroic Gordon has rendered the last and crowning service of his life in being the cause for another display, under altered conditions, of the noble spirit of Imperial union.

It was really the enthusiasm kindled by his wonderful career and character, and solitary defence of that African city against all the fanatic Moslem hordes, which kindled afresh in the minds of men an admiration for British pluck, and the desire to carry out, under the British flag, the purpose for which he had fallen. It was not the bare sands of the Soudan which rose to the vision, but the figure of the stainless soldier stemming unaided the tumultuous onslaught of the followers of a false prophet. It was this wonder at, and reverence for the man, and a belief that where he had led, English-speaking men should follow, which produced the offer from the Colonies for active service.

The offer was echoed throughout Australasia, each community being anxious to show its sympathy in the Imperial fortunes, although these were injured more in feeling than in fact. From Canada came the same note of patriotism—a note not emanating from the English-speaking races alone, for French Canadian officers were resolute in volunteering, as they had been two years before, when the battle of Tel-el-Kebir was fought by Lord Wolseley.

Thus, for the first time in history, had great self-governing Colonies the opportunity of showing at a time of no deadly pressure, but when there was a shadow of

real danger, how willing they are to form one battle line with us. If such results can spring from the death of one hero contending with Arabs, what may not be expected from our Colonies if an enemy were ever able to fly at Britain's throat?

Such events cast to the winds any cold and shrewd calculation of chances. The blood leaps and tingles, and the brain obeys the impulse. When the impulse is so easily aroused it is important to remember how strong are the powers it may bring into motion. Take, for instance, the natural military spirit of her people as shown in British North America. During the great American contest, between 1861 and 1864, judgment and calculation would have asserted that the Canadians would have been glad to be out of the trouble, and so, indeed, as represented by their Government, they were. But the fighting element among them delighted in the chance of taking part in peril. Although these men had as a rule no special sympathy for South or North, yet partly, on account of feeling, partly on account of blood relationship, but chiefly for love of fighting, many thousands of Canadians took part with the Northern army, which was the most easily reached. It has been estimated that forty to fifty thousand men thus served in the Northern ranks.

The bulk of mankind do not weigh the right or the wrong in such cases. It is enough that the drums beat and the musketry rattles, and that the battle flags are those their friends carry, or are those under which their fathers fought. Such considerations are enough.

And of all strong sentiments which sway men in Canada, as indeed in all the Colonies, the strongest, next to the love of their own country, is the love for the grand Empire they have shared in founding, and have done so much to extend. There are a few with long purses, who desire to make them longer by forswearing allegiance to the old flag, the old freedom, and the old glory; but watch any man who expresses such sentiments in private, mount the platform at a public meeting, no matter where, and mark how he covers over such ideas with words of a very different bearing! And why? Because he knows political poltroonery is political death, and that he may as well seek to become the representative of the inhabitants of the moon as the member for a disloyal town or county in the Dominion of Canada! So it is in Australia. No, he has no chance, and if we are as true to the Colonies as they are true to us, such as he "never will have a chance."

And in regard to the sons of the "Giant Ocean Isle," it is remarkable that the offers of their service came at a moment when owing to peculiar circumstances a strong feeling has been raised among them against the Home Government. This has in no wise influenced their patriotism. They have laid the blame on the individual members of the Government, and have refused to swerve by one hair's breadth from their loyalty to their connection with the old country. Yet the exasperation among them owing to what they have considered the pusillanimous, hesitating, and vacillating policy of the Colonial

Office was effervescent at the very moment when the greater and over-mastering impulse came upon them to place their volunteers by the side of our troops in Africa.

And they had had much reason for their anger. New Guinea, the great and desirable island to the north, had been coveted not only by their people for its riches, but by their statesmen on account of its position. Its acquisition promised not only riches but the blessings of peace in the absence from their neighbourhood of any foreign military power. One of their Colonies had taken formal possession of it, but the act was disavowed at home.

Its seizure by a foreign power, the very catastrophe the Australians feared, occurred soon afterwards. Germany showed a desire to possess herself of New Guinea, and it was only by tardy action that the Home Government saved it from being wholly embodied in the German Empire. It was the same with Australian claims to Samoa and other islands where their aspirations were backed in a very halting spirit by the Secretary of State, so that at one time it seemed that French convicts and German military posts would become for Australia inevitable neighbours. Smarting under these circumstances, it was doubly significant that without hesitation their responsible governments were ready to launch into those expenses which betoken the wider patriotism it is the province of "Imperial Federation" to evoke.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### WHAT MAY NOW BE DONE?

WHAT, then, may be done? A difficult question to answer ; but, to begin with that which is of greatest importance, all action should be taken only in full accordance with the expressed wishes of the colonists. The business of any League having their interests and the cohesion of the whole Empire at heart must be first to make plain to all that anything of novelty which may be proposed is mentioned as a matter for discussion, and not for the purpose of pressing it with England's superior power, moral or physical, on unwilling fellow-countrymen. There must be no possibility that any one should imagine that "Downing-street rule is again to be revived" at the antipodes or in Canada.

It may be supposed that the very impossibility and absurdity of any such language would carry with it its own condemnation, but the diffidence of colonists as to their own strength and position is notable. It is not seen only with Anglo-Saxons under our own flag. A diffidence and desire for recognition in the old country is shown by many in the States, although the very men who show

it would be the first to deny it; and indeed a want of confidence in their material strength is impossible.

But if there be no such diffidence and want of assurance in stamping as best what is native, why is it that so much sensitiveness is shown to European opinion? Why is it that any "chaff" such as that written by Dickens should produce a sore impression, while it does not matter to a European what the transatlantic opinion about him or his country may be? For one extract from American or Canadian papers which Englishmen see copied into British journals, the *New World* "organs" have a hundred, detailing what is thought, done, or said in the old country. English opinion stamps literary and social worth. French opinion stamps as right whatever mode of dress Paris chooses to dictate.

And this want of confidence in native worth, ill-founded as it is, plays a part in creating sensitiveness lest English fashion and thought should have too much influence on Colonial statesmen; and our children display a sort of affectionate distrust of proposals purely English, knowing that the dear old mother used in old days much to love to have her own way.

Colonial statesmen have experienced their countrymen's distrust if they have been too long resident in England. It is feared by the suspicious that they have become affected by insular prejudices. We see the same tendency in regard to American Ministers, who are attacked by their political opponents if they are very complimentary in public speeches to Britain, and are

suspected of becoming too much saturated with the insidious charm of Old World society.

This feeling is one which is foolish and utterly unworthy of the great peoples who send their representatives here. But it exists, and is worth taking into account for this reason, that we must take care for some time to come not to allow any suspicion to grow that we wish to influence Colonial representatives to support what may advantage us only.

When the Colonies desire anything they will not be slow to express their wish. Canada has expressed her desire that her envoy should be raised in rank and importance, and have the weight which must necessarily attach to the utterance of one who is the mouthpiece of a young nation. She has found that in order adequately to represent her views in commercial policy it is necessary to have one of her first public servants present in London to explain what is wanted, and to be associated with the British Minister at any foreign Court with whose government a treaty of commerce is desired.

Any body of politicians such as that incorporated in the League can at once promote the union of the Empire by ascertaining what is the opinion of a particular Colonial government through conversation with its representative, and co-operate thus in influencing the public mind to support the views he enunciates. These will not always be identical with English views on commerce, or even on questions of mutual defence, but they will be what the Colony thinks best for itself, and it is by working for its

welfare that its allegiance to the Crown, and alliance with fellow citizens must be purchased.

The diffidence of which mention has been made has prevented the Australian Colonies from giving to their Agents-General so distinct a position of importance as that secured under the title of "High Commissioner" to the Canadian. When during the sitting of the Convention summoned to Sydney for the purpose of consulting as to the federation of Australia, the Agents-General proposed some action, they were informed that they were in no wise to consider themselves as acting in a diplomatic capacity.

This denial to them of any powers beyond those involved in making contracts for engineering works, borrowing loans, or superintending emigration, throws a direct difficulty in the way of those who would look to them to indicate how best to help the Colonies.

The action of Canada in investing her agent with greater powers is wiser, and will probably be followed by the Australians as soon as Confederation among them shall have led them to initiate a national policy in trade, whether that national policy be one of Free Trade or of Protection.

Many, even among the Canadians, are shy of confiding too much to their High Commissioner, and there is a sentiment born of diffidence, that would see the exaltation of the man, rather than the exaltation of the envoy of the nation, in a full recognition of his importance. They especially who are ignorant of the actual working of the

office are the foremost to show impatience at the advancement in the name of Canada of politicians with whom they have not agreed in their own country.

It is most unwise that any party rancour should follow a man once he represents in England the whole country; but to this patriotic state of mind Canadians will only arrive when each party has in turn had the nomination of an envoy. There is so much dislike to any assumption of personal pre-eminence in all young countries, that the jealousy of the individual is apt to overshadow the interest of the State. It may be more easy to give Colonial representatives weight and real dignity, without giving them the personal importance which is certainly their due, and should be freely given, not only as soon as their Governments ask for it, but unless their Governments object to it.

There is reason to believe that Canada is fully satisfied with the position which has been given to her first two High Commissioners. They have both been granted all opportunity they have demanded of making separate commercial treaties with foreign Governments, under the auspices, and with the cordial advice and assistance of the British ambassador, although he represents a Free Trade country and they were negotiating for reciprocal trade relations under a high tariff. If Canada cares to have her envoy associated more intimately with the Imperial Government machinery, she has probably only to ask that such position be assigned to him to obtain what she asks.

It would seem on all accounts to be wise that in questions likely to lead to war or trouble, our Colonies

should have a voice, and that no difficulty be incurred which could harm them, without warning being given to them of the risk to be run. They should be embraced in, and made part of, the machinery of Imperial Government.

How is this to be done? The difficulties connected with any personal aggrandisement of their office, if such there be, might be evaded, and real power of being heard in Council might be given, by granting to Agents-General the privileges of membership of the House of Commons without the power of voting.

The power of voting they would not wish for. A greater influence would be theirs if, sitting in the House as spectators on commonplace occasions, and guarded against even the suspicion of party influence by abstention from all debate save where the question affected their country, they should on extraordinary occasions, involving the Imperial issues of peace or war, be heard in the assembly. A speech delivered in the House by the mouthpiece of a great Colony would have much weight, and be listened to with respect. Such an utterance would in the most effectual manner inform the assembly in which most power resides, of the manner in which our kindred beyond the sea must look upon questions deeply affecting themselves as well as us.

The idea is new, and therefore perhaps antagonistic to our instincts, but the whole development and the very existence of our peculiarly constituted Empire is new. The question is not whether a proposal be good

because it has not been expressed before this date, but whether, the novelty of the position being once recognized, such arrangements would not best meet the new wants created, and give voice to the different interests involved.

The knowledge that a Colonial Agent has a right to sit and speak, although not to vote, would be a strong incentive to the Colonies to send their best men to fill a place which would, from such a practice as that suggested, derive enhanced importance, without subjecting the individual so favoured to suspicion of a desire to deck himself in "fuss and feathers." The position of a representative is familiar to the Colonial mind. The assumption of the *rôle* of ambassador on the part of any one of his fellow-citizens fills the Colonist's mind with ill-defined misgivings, that the envoy has become too fine a bird to represent the plain and straightforward countrymen he has left behind him. The glamour of St. James's is supposed to enchant him evilly. The air of St. Stephen's would not be held to be so deleterious, and might even be allowed to invigorate him to perform his duty, in stating his country's needs and expectations.

These gentle jealousies, slight weaknesses, and the youthful coyness to which allusion has been made, ought not to prevail, and most men will be of opinion that they cannot long exist. The readiest way of getting at Colonial wishes is to frankly recognize the position of the High Commissioner and any others appointed on the same footing, as that of envoys, and to make any such officers part and parcel of our Imperial consultative Council.

It has already been mentioned that a Board of Advice for Trade and the Plantations formerly existed as part of the Privy Council. If the Agents were made members of such a committee, and had power to ask to see papers which could be shown to Parliament, and had regular opportunities of meeting with the Secretary of State, much would be done to ensure that which is so necessary, namely, the undertaking of no great Imperial matter without the knowledge, not only of the Home Government, but of the Colonial Governments. Without the consideration for the Colonies which can alone be shown by consultation, it is conceivable that the strain involved in being made to bear the pains and penalties of a war undertaken without their consent, may make them impatient of connection with Britain. It is no answer to this fear to say that no signs of such hanging back have hitherto arisen.

At present the advantages and the sentiment of union are so strong that much may be endured. But it must be remembered that it is well not to drive a willing horse too hard. Except in 1812 and 1813 no Colony has felt the brunt of war. But what happened then in Canada, when her people were too much scattered to have the power of expressing themselves as a nation, may happen again, and the country might become the battle-field for fighting out a dispute between the United States and England. It is all very well to say, pray God such a thing may never be! So say we all, but what has happened may happen again, and although it is very unlikely that any quarrel could arise in which Canada would not be quite



as much interested as England, yet now that she has a national voice she will probably wish to use it, to indicate what may seem to her an adequate or an inadequate cause of quarrel in a dispute which, if carried into war, would be to her a life and death struggle. Even such a comparatively trifling matter as a disturbance in Ireland touches Canada, for her militia have to turn out in arms to defeat the aims of the Hibernians who imagine that the easiest way to alarm London is to wear a green uniform in an hotel at Niagara.

Australia, again, has to guard her ports and man her batteries if a Russian Cossack fires a shot against an Afghan outpost in Central Asia. Steam communication has made the world very small, and our Empire, situated in all parts of it, feels the shock of conflict through all its limbs. The members of our wide commonwealth must eventually be consulted. How? Most easily through the admission to Council of the gentlemen they send to London.

It may be said that these envoys would not, if collectively consulted, have much weight. They would not be so responsible to Colonial opinion as, for example, are the senators of the United States, elected by the people, and endowed by them with power even greater than that given to the members of the House of Representatives. But the Government from which the Agents-General derive their commission is in itself the very essence of the responsibility founded on popular power. The Colonial envoys are nothing but the mouthpieces of

the Colonial Governments of the day, and therefore in one sense represent the quintessence of responsibility, and are in constant private, personal, and official communication by letter and telegraph with their Governments. They are often men having the confidence of both parties in their local Chambers. They are always of high standing in their own country, and, in the case of the High Commissioners sent from Canada, have been selected from those who for long years have been amongst the most distinguished statesmen of their land.

In their utterances, if anywhere, we can find the voice that can inform us of the feeling and of the actual phase of popular sentiment among their countrymen, as well as of the intelligent aim and purpose of the Cabinet whose servants they are. Their formal instructions, again, and the public despatches addressed to them by their local Governments, have been sent to them with the knowledge of the Imperial Governors presiding over the Colonial State. Should the Governors see fit to warn the Home authority that Her Majesty's loyal and powerful Opposition within the local Chambers invalidate to some extent the opinions of the accredited envoy, the Secretary of State is able to take the advice given, and the demand or statement made, with the necessary grain of salt. Even if a consultation with these gentlemen should only prove to be a makeshift until a more complete plan be adopted, it is a makeshift which may save mistakes. Regular opportunities given for consultation could not by any possibility involve the Colonies more than they are involved at pre-

sent in the expense and obligations of England's foreign policy, although such entanglement might be feared by them if it be not made perfectly plain that no change in our relations in this regard be intended by the grant of such opportunities of consultation.

Nothing but good can come from the consultation of High Commissioners and Agents-General, and their incorporation by such means as part of the Imperial diplomatic machinery. They would have as much power of interrogating the Secretary of State as have the members of the House of Commons when they ask questions on all affairs, foreign and domestic. "Interpellations" would, however, only be made by them if they were not on a Privy Council Committee such as that suggested by Lord Grey and others. Want of knowledge of the tendencies of Home or Colonial policy would cease to be a danger. Whether the advice of the agents be sought by admitting them, while they are in office, to the Privy Council, and by making them in some way members of a revived Board like the former body called the "Board for Trade and Plantations," or whether they be incorporated in the Colonial Office, does not much matter.

These points are details, important perhaps, but only as they affect the carrying out the principle of no Imperial action without Imperial consultation; no war risks without warning. Should meetings of such a Council ever be held, the British Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Prime

Minister, and perhaps the Secretary to the Board of Trade would furnish the only necessary British members. It would be most important, especially at first, that in the constitution of such Council there should be no suspicion that British members desired more than their proper share of influence in the deliberations.

Unlike the Indian Council, which is formed of veterans who have served in the army or the civil service in India, this Council would represent the present and living opinion of the people interested in the action resulting from any Imperial policy. The advantages to be derived from the constitution of some such body might be expected to be these. We should derive a more intimate knowledge of the desires of each Colonial Government. There would be more opportunity than exists at present, for Colonial envoys to bring their desires to the notice of the British Government and their brother colonists. They would have opportunity given them to combine and further the views of one of their number or to declare against any impracticable project, and it may also be assumed that there would be less danger of any imprudent course being embarked upon by any one Colony. Unadvised action has sometimes been precipitately undertaken, and has not been effectual because it has been begun without consultation with others and with Britain.

It is often difficult for Britain to show to Colonial Governments the important need and necessity of co-operation in certain measures for general defence, a matter too

often lightly regarded by the Colonies. The further they stretch their railways, and the greater the expansion of their people over vast territories, the more vulnerable does their position become, and extension without organization means yet greater weakness, hardly to be balanced by increased facilities of transport given by railway communication, for railways may be captured, and used to serve as the means of transport, by an enemy.

In any such Council as that we have under review, we should be able to elicit the opinion of the Colonial Governments of the day on each question as it arises, and it would be more easy to turn a deaf ear to the advocacy of any mere theoretical plans for a change, because these would be at once discouraged by such a body having authority and possessed of a thorough knowledge.

It may be gathered from what has already been said that the isolation would be lessened for each member of our great family, and there would consequently be greater strength for any policy taken up with the general approval and knowledge of the whole Empire.

If some such plan were approved of, yet further effect would be given to what has been shown to be the wish of the Imperial Government, namely, to work on the lines of the wishes of the Colonies. Free access to the Secretary of State and to foreign Governments has been secured by the steps taken by Canada and accepted by the Home Government. All that remains to be done is to make certain that where the wishes of any one Colony, or the policy of England, cannot be followed without

touching other interests within the pale of the Empire, due notice shall be given to those representing such interests. The necessity for this will become every year more apparent, for each year sees a greater amount of the earth's surface not only overrun but actually inhabited by our people, so that which affects one country under our flag affects all in a greater or smaller degree.

It becomes dangerous therefore to make any arrangements with any one member of the family without informing the others. We need not fear that by taking the more important Governments into our confidence we shall cripple our own action. The tendency will certainly be to promote peace, but in case of future war we shall be stronger to meet and endure the strain by having secured the complete accordance of our Colonies.

That they have a right to be heard in these questions involving peace or war is still disputed by some among us, but their common risk has been proved to involve them in expense, and justifies a demand for formal opportunity of speech.

But besides the good the Imperial Federation League may effect through the assertion of the great principles of individual and corporate freedom leading to unity, there are many minor points of interest to the Colonies worth its consideration and support.

The encouragement of judicious Emigration is, for instance, of great value to the Colonies. When the wild lands of Australia were still under the management of the

Home authorities, a vast proportion of the income they yielded, when sold to settlers, was used for the purpose of stocking with men the Colony from which the money was derived. It is certainly, as has been often proved, a direct and positive commercial gain to England to direct her surplus population to her own states beyond the sea, when, as is the case of Canada, they take "four times as much per head of the population of British products as her neighbours south of the line of demarcation."

From the table annexed to this pamphlet, it will be seen that Australia's demand for British goods excels even the large relative amount Canada takes, as compared with foreign states. There are a few foreign countries whose increase in trade with us has been nearly as great, but our own people are our best customers "out and out," and even where the increase of our trade with them has been least, it has been favourable as compared with the increase with our largest foreign customers. As we have an addition to our population of about half a million yearly we can spare many a family, while keeping at home a greater number than our ancestors would have believed the country capable of sustaining.

Should any assistance be given by the State in directing emigration, it would be well to consider a suggestion recently made,<sup>1</sup> which reminds one of the economy practised in a boiler where the steam instead of being

<sup>1</sup> Sir C. Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada.

wasted is used to heat the fresh water from which more steam is generated. Speaking of the advances of money made by private individuals to emigrants who acquire a right to the land on which they are settled only after they have paid the loan, Sir Charles Tupper advocates a similar advance by the State. He says :

“ I would combine three agencies in this operation. I would ask the Imperial Government to appropriate a million pounds sterling, or, if they preferred, only half that sum—for that, I believe, would be ample to vindicate my assertion that it is practicable, and, as repaid, it could constantly be reinvested for the same purpose. I would ask them to lend that sum of money, free of interest, to those high-minded philanthropic capitalists who have shown their readiness to expend their own money in the promotion of this work, and I would ask Mr. Tuke to see that the money was well and wisely expended for the purposes for which it was intended—to see that only suitable persons were selected, persons who were calculated to succeed on being placed on the soil. The Government of Canada would receive these men with open arms ; it would contribute to the payment of their passage-money across the Atlantic ; and it would place at their disposal agencies throughout the country which would give them aid and assistance in every way. The Canadian Government would further place in their hands, as a free gift for every emigrant, 160 acres of rich soil ready for the plough. Regarded as a commercial enterprise, and from the standpoint that every one thus sent out would become a consumer of the products of British industry,”

Sir Charles claims for the scheme that it would benefit England and Canada, and the same plan might be adopted elsewhere.

It may be as well here to cite briefly the conditions under which emigration can be carried out as far as passage expenses are involved. It must, however, be remembered that as a rule it is essential for the emi-



grant to have some ready money in his pocket on landing.

“The Australian and New Zealand Governments principally work by a ‘Nomination Order.’ This is as follows:—A resident in a Colony desires to have his relatives or friends to come out to him. He proceeds to the Immigration Depôt and nominates his friends, paying a small sum—generally £5 for a couple. The papers are sent over to the Agent-General in England, and also to the parties here. After these documents are inspected, the shipping order is made out, and ship’s kit purchased, &c. The parties then proceed to the Colony, and join their friends. The Colonial Governments believe this secures a respectable class of people, and ensures the emigrants being well looked after by the settlers themselves. It generally takes four or five months to write out for, and receive back, the ‘Nomination Order.’

“The offices of the Agents-General are open from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., and Saturdays till 1 p.m.

“NEW SOUTH WALES (capital, Sydney)—5, Westminster Chambers. £6 only for each couple under 40; young men under 30, £4; children, 3 to 14, £1, under 3 free, and ship’s kit given. Nomination suspended. Colony very prosperous and best to go to. Single women, £2. A splendid chance which many ought to embrace. Read Christian Knowledge Society’s book (2½d.) on New South Wales.

“VICTORIA (capital, Melbourne)—8, Victoria Chambers. Assists no emigrants. Steam there in forty-five days. Land orders granted to all paying their passage. Steerage, £15 to £20.

“WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—By nomination orders only from those living in the Colony. For further particulars apply to Messrs. Bethel, 110, Fenchurch Street, City, E.C.

“SOUTH AUSTRALIA (capital, Adelaide)—8, Victoria Chambers. There are 600 nominated persons this season, who will alone be sent out.

“QUEENSLAND—1, Westminster Chambers, Westminster Abbey, S.W. Single women, domestics, under an experienced matron, £1; unmarried farm labourers under 30, £1; other suitable emigrants, £8 for ocean passage and ship’s kit. Apply to Messrs. Gellatly,

109, Leadenhall Street, E.C. Read Christian Knowledge Society's book on Queensland, 2½d. (Northumberland Avenue, S.W.).

"TASMANIA—79½, Gracechurch Street, City, E.C. All emigration is entirely suspended.

"NEW ZEALAND—7, Westminster Chambers. The Colony is sending out but few, except on nomination. Domestics, free; some suitable adult male emigrants, £4 each. The wives and families of husbands out there assisted to join them. Read the Christian Knowledge Society's new book, 2½d. Many excellent openings and a beautiful climate.

"CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—10, Albert Mansions, Victoria Street. Emigrants sent out only after nomination.

"NATAL—21, Finsbury Circus, City of London, E.C. Emigration has ceased.

"CANADA—9, Victoria Street, Westminster Abbey, S.W. At present assisted passages to Canada are very cheap. From Liverpool to Quebec: agriculturalists, £3; unmarried women (16 to 35), £3 each; all children under 12, £2; infants under twelve months, 10s. About £2 8s. extra from Quebec to Winnipeg; children, 3 to 12, £1 4s. Rate fares from Quebec to places in Ontario from 10s. to 25s., according to distances. Emigrants in every case should have some money on landing, to keep them going until they begin to earn wages. The first emigrant vessel for Quebec direct starts the second week in April, and they continue till the end of October.

	£	s.	d.
"Emigrant's rail to Liverpool . . . .	0	12	6
Cab, &c., across Liverpool, &c. . . .	0	3	6
Ocean passage (2,700 miles) . . . .	3	0	0
Hire of bedding and mess utensils. . . .	0	3	6
Provision on railway in Canada . . . .	0	6	0
	<hr/>		
	£4	6	0"
	<hr/>		

There is no doubt that patriots must look with regret at the great numbers who go to swell the strength of alien states when the settlers would be as happy under

their own flag. If trade does not imply a Colony or Plantation, there is no doubt that a "Plantation" does imply trade, and that by encouraging the growth of our Colonies we swell the bulk of our own commercial business.

It has been suggested that Trades Associations can confer among themselves in whatever part of the Empire they may be formed, and that good advice and help may thus be given. It is not probable that the workmen in any given trade in any locality would encourage immigration from an old country to the newer centres of industry. An inrush of new workmen would depress the wages on which the artizans subsist. But the knowledge of the views of workmen in the different countries concerned, tend to show what classes of labour would bear multiplication of the number of hands employed, and to what promising outlet any movement might be directed. For one class of labour almost every Colony is ready, namely, for that afforded by the agricultural element, and it is most noteworthy how easily this can be manufactured from the unpromising material contributed by the cities' poor.

During the last year many families have been sent to Canada under the auspices of an Association that selected as the recipients of their charity, men from the East end of London. Although many of these men had never been away from the city, and had never laid a hand to a spade or plough, and had never sown, and had succeeded in reaping nothing in the streets and lanes and alleys of

London; yet the accounts received this winter from them, show that with the help they have obtained for outfits they have succeeded well, and are now happily placed as yeomen proprietors upon the great prairies of the West of British North America.

This is a most remarkable result, for if so much good can be done to such men by furnishing them with some little judiciously given assistance, what may not be expected from a well-trained artizan or poor rural tenant, who might find a place for his special labour in the Colonies, and who could, as a rule, be always provided with a grant of land? An organization amongst workmen placed in our crowded towns, and having branch associations in town and country in the Colonies, would be able to know when and where and whence movements of the people should take place. The Governments concerned could well aid in such a plan. In London, by the information supplied from Colonial sources, the British Government could each week inform the various classes of the unemployed what trades and what localities across the seas asked for labour, and what would be the cost of the voyage.

Still easier would it be for the Home authorities to lighten the poor-rates in Britain by the transhipment of children of paupers to educational "Homes" prepared for them in the Colonies. A little co-operation between the Governments would secure to the Colonies a valuable influx of child emigrants, for none could object to a class of children on account of their poverty alone;

while the over-crowding in many parishes of the mother land would be stayed, and the rates relieved. Of course the children must be those of the "deserving poor."

Perhaps the influence of the League may render less marked the isolation of the "bars" and "faculties" of the Empire. With the lawyers it is certainly not essential that a "call to the Bar" in England or Ontario should make the barrister carry his home privileges with him. Scots advocates can manage well enough for themselves without being able to gain at Edinburgh any rights in "the Temple," and lawyers generally may be trusted to take care of themselves. But in the case of medical men, would it not conduce to a good understanding if the degrees of certain specified seats of learning could be held as equivalent throughout the Empire. Could not the British Government Medical Advisory Board arrange that, say, in every five years, a joint commission of British and Colonial physicians and surgeons should revise the list of those institutions whose degree should be "Imperially" valid?

To conclude this review of what may be done toward Federation, it will be seen that the belief held is that more faith should be placed in listening and in learning than in prescribing and doctoring. There are a few dangers to be guarded against, but these can be avoided by keeping our ears open to listen, and our eyes to see. Encouragement of the statement of wants, and the ready departure, if departure be demanded, from routine and

bureaucratic tradition, is the great and essential necessity. To bear in mind that development is rapid, and novel-  
ties must come with new conditions; that to repress or  
"snub" requests for change only because they are un-  
known and half understood, is dangerous; that mutual  
interests are the real safeguards against disunion, and  
that these can best be strengthened by helping local  
wants, is, in brief, the prime element of success in keep-  
ing our Empire one and indivisible. We must recognize  
the necessity for the full growth of each country com-  
prised in the great Union in accordance with each  
country's own idea of what is best.

APPENDIX.





TABLE I.

COLONY.	POPULATION.			REVENUE.		
	1871	1881	1883	1870	1880	1883
Canada ... ..	3,686,100	4,324,800	<i>estimate.</i> 4,500,000	3,396,900	4,855,700	7,667,400
New South Wales...	503,900	751,500	800,000	2,575,300	4,904,200	*7,410,700
Victoria ... ..	731,500	862,400	931,800	3,261,900	4,621,300	5,611,300
New Zealand... ..	†256,400	†489,900	†540,900	1,733,000	3,285,000	3,871,300
Tasmania ... ..	101,800	115,700	126,200	270,100	442,200	562,200
South Australia ...	185,600	†279,900	304,500	860,100	2,028,000	2,060,100
West Australia ...	25,350	29,700	31,700	98,130	180,050	284,360
Queensland ... ..	120,100	213,500	287,500	786,350	1,612,300	2,583,500
Cape of Good Hope	§582,600	¶721,000	¶1,249,800	831,200	3,541,700	5,443,500
Totals ... ..	6,193,350	7,788,400	8,772,400	13,812,980	25,470,450	35,494,360

COLONY.	EXPENDITURE.			DEBT.		
	1870	1880	1883	1870	1880	1883
Canada ... ..	3,546,900	6,894,100	8,937,800	16,749,800	31,760,700	33,013,900
New South Wales...	3,298,400	5,560,100	*6,347,800	9,681,100	14,903,900	*18,721,200
Victoria ... ..	3,428,400	4,875,000	5,651,900	11,924,800	22,060,800	26,132,300
New Zealand... ..	2,697,400	4,019,900	3,924,000	7,841,900	28,583,200	31,385,400
Tasmania ... ..	282,600	415,200	533,000	1,268,700	1,943,700	2,385,600
South Australia ...	949,600	1,923,600	2,330,100	1,944,600	9,865,500	13,891,900
West Australia ...	113,050	204,340	240,570	**35,000	361,000	607,800
Queensland ... ..	827,200	1,673,700	2,242,800	3,509,200	12,192,200	14,917,800
Cape of Good Hope	795,700	3,742,700	6,341,700	1,106,500	11,391,800	20,811,000
Totals ... ..	15,939,250	29,308,640	36,549,670	54,061,600	133,062,800	161,866,900

\* Figures for 1882. † Exclusive of Maoris, about 40,000. ‡ Exclusive of aborigines.

§ Including 86,201 British Caffraria (census 1865).

|| Including 122,154 British Caffraria (census 1875).

¶ Approximate 1881.

\*\* Figures for 1872.

TABLE II.

COLONY.	1870.		1880.		1883.	
	TOTAL IMPORTS.	FROM GREAT BRITAIN.	TOTAL IMPORTS.	FROM GREAT BRITAIN.	TOTAL IMPORTS.	FROM GREAT BRITAIN.
Canada ... ..	16,307,200	8,346,700	18,018,700	7,179,400	27,552,900	10,844,300
New South Wales ... ..	7,213,300	3,200,700	13,950,000	6,536,700	*21,281,100	*11,155,900
Victoria ... ..	12,455,800	6,198,800	14,556,900	5,892,800	17,743,900	8,710,300
South Australia ... ..	2,029,800	1,196,200	5,581,500	3,002,300	6,310,000	3,492,300
Queensland ... ..	1,536,800	436,400	3,087,300	839,800	6,223,300	2,771,600
West Australia ... ..	213,300	102,580	353,700	138,300	516,900	231,300
New Zealand ... ..	4,639,000	2,685,700	6,162,000	3,479,200	7,974,000	5,241,900
Tasmania ... ..	792,900	282,400	1,369,200	288,500	1,832,600	631,300
Cape of Good Hope ... ..	2,502,000	1,956,300	8,078,000	6,183,300	6,681,000	4,899,400
Totals ... ..	47,690,100	24,395,780	71,157,300	33,540,300	96,115,700	47,978,300

\* Figures for 1882-1883 not available.

N.E.—All these figures include Bullion.

TABLE III.

The following are the Average Import Duties of the various Colonies for the years 1870, 1880, 1883. Canada is the only country that publishes the imports of free and dutiable goods separately. In the other Colonies they are lumped together.

The *total* imports of each country are indicated, deducting in every case the imports of bullion and specie, and upon the basis of the total amount of the Customs Revenue of the country the results given are obtained. On account of the lumping of all the free and dutiable goods together, the figures may not be quite accurate, but they are all calculated on the same basis.

COLONY.	1870			1880			1883		
	IMPORTS LESS BULLION.	CUSTOMS REVENUE.	PER CENTAGE.	IMPORTS LESS BULLION.	CUSTOMS REVENUE.	PER CENTAGE.	IMPORTS LESS BULLION.	CUSTOMS REVENUE.	PER CENTAGE.
Canada ... ..	£ 15,403,894	£ 2,056,275	13	£ 17,626,654	£ 2,931,530	17	£ 27,287,187	£ 4,793,662	18
New South Wales...	6,223,406	870,046	14	12,732,032	1,182,604	9	*20,090,281	*1,545,946	8
Victoria ... ..	10,460,980	1,228,484	12	13,540,984	1,417,545	10	16,936,352	1,832,792	11
South Australia ... ..	2,013,794	188,896	9	5,106,781	516,931	10	6,238,042	618,871	10
Queensland ... ..	1,530,213	288,471	19	3,082,251	483,753	16	6,105,042	798,992	13
West Australia ... ..	208,239	41,698	19	353,669	94,518	26	515,575	119,685	23
New Zealand ... ..	4,526,325	765,837	17	5,997,162	1,264,807	21	7,773,986	1,411,495	18
Tasmania, ... ..	789,916	137,035	17	1,182,923	219,148	18	1,815,897	297,175	16
Cape of Good Hope ... ..	2,352,043	340,208	14	7,652,238	972,153	13	6,470,391	1,105,443	17
Totals ... ..	43,508,810	5,916,910		67,274,694	9,082,989		93,232,713	12,524,061	

\* These figures are for 1882, 1883 not available.



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